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Trade: Soviet case turns a truism on its head

Süddeutsche Zeitung

A claim which has often been confirmed in international relations is that trade is generally one step ahead of politics. Economists find it easier than diplomats to reach agreement.

But, in the case of the Soviet Union, the principal appears to have been reversed. The political thrust of attempts by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachov to restructure Soviet society has opened up new and promising perspectives for western trading partners.

Trade relations have picked up markedly following a lull during recent years.

Forms of cooperation extend from joint ventures to the realisation of the old European dream of a joint exploitation of the vast raw materials deposits in the expanses of the East.

Gorbachov has paved the way for the beckoning opportunities by loosening the grip of central administration on industrial activities.

Apart from producing plenty of armament goods the previous system has produced serious deficiencies at all economic levels. Without substantial assistance from the West it will not be possible to satisfy the needs of population in the foreseeable future.

This is the main reason for the unusually high number of visits to the West, especially to the Federal Republic of Germany, by high-ranking scientists and politicians from Moscow.

Even though the deputy Soviet Prime Minister, Ivan S. Silayev, stated during one of his numerous visits to the Federal Republic of Germany that similar interest was being shown in other countries there can be no doubt that the Soviet Union is pinning particular hopes on the Federal Republic of Germany as its traditionally most important western trading partner by far.

The extensive series of meetings between delegations recently, however, have shown that there are disappointments in this field.

The Soviet guests feel that the pace of cooperation between the Soviet Union and Germany is too slow.

They find it difficult to understand why firms are hesitant to become involved in such ventures in a big way.

This is understandable in view of the fact that the representatives of the reform course in the Soviet Union need speedy successes to ensure that glasnost and perestroika are not jeopardised.

During the first two years of this experiment the supply situation has deteriorated rather than improved.

This is undoubtedly due in part to the frictional losses accompanying the structural reorganisation of the state apparatus.

If this does not change soon, however, Soviet people could lose interest in the new policy and thus make it easier for conservative elements to regain the upper hand.

Concern about this possibility is noticeable in all discussions. The disappointment at the West's hesitancy to back a development in the Soviet Union which is more than welcome is closely linked with such concern.

This assessment of the problem, however, works on the typical Soviet assumption that all that is needed are a set of government directives to intensify economic ties. This, however, is not the way things work in the West.

Despite the generally optimistic assessment of the situation business decisions are based on a careful weighing up of the pros and cons and on a prior clarification of the prospects of investments in new cooperation deals or even joint ventures. It is too early to foresee all the consequences of such far-reaching decisions after just a short period of liberalisation. The law adopted in December on the setting up of joint ventures and the agreement now signed giving investments a framework of safeguards have improved the general setting of economic cooperation. Yet a great deal still needs to be clarified. This ranges from the role individual Soviet republics can play in shaping joint ventures to the detailed questions of foreign exchange arrangements. It is particularly difficult to find solutions at this stage of developments in the Soviet Union.

The functionaries who once made decisions are no longer in charge and the new generation of managers is not yet confident enough to be able to respond promptly and precisely to pressing questions. Frustration is inevitable. German partners in talks should make sure it is not unnecessarily increased.

Some politicians and many businessmen often seem to lack sensitivity in dealings with Soviet guests.

The fact that the Russians have to come here to learn how the market economy works is difficult enough. This awkwardness becomes unbearable if they are confronted by the kind of condescension seen on many official occasions, in speeches as well as at table talk.

Whether the numerous contacts now being established in this field will develop into lasting partnerships depends to a considerable extent on the ability of the German partners to strike the right note.

It would be a shame to discover one day that the external conditions for flourishing cooperation have been created but that the human relations aspect has been disastrous.

Helmut Maier-Mannhart

(Suddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 13 April 1989)

DAMAGE to the environment in Africa was a major discussion point when the president of Mali, Moussa Traore, visited Bonn. Traore, here being greeted by Bonn President von Weizsäcker (right), is also head of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU). (Photo: Sepp Spiegl)

IN THIS ISSUE

Joint ventures still at a simple level

Handelsblatt
WIRTSCHAFTS- UND FINANZZEITUNG

The head of the Soviet delegation during this year's meeting of the joint German-Soviet trade commission in Bonn, Ivan Silayev, spoke of a "turn of events" in trade between Germany and the Soviet Union.

There has indeed been a turn of events, but not in the sense meant by Silayev.

In the past, it was the economy, especially the German economy, which functioned as a locomotive for East-West relations. Politicians tended to slow down this development.

It now looks as if politicians and the trading community have swapped positions.

Bonn Economics Minister Helmut Haussmann urges German car manufacturers to intensify trade ties with the Soviet Union, negotiations on the construction of a high-temperature reactor by a German company are picking up again thanks to political activities in Bonn and Moscow, and the former stumbling-block, the Cocom list, was not even mentioned in the reports on the trade commission's meeting.

There are two reasons for this. On the one hand, Bonn apparently has a great interest in supporting the process of restructuring in the Soviet Union both politically and economically.

On the other hand, Bonn and Moscow would like to crown Mikhail Gorbachov's mid-June visit to Bonn with the successful conclusion of spectacular trade agreements.

As opposed to politicians industry has not yet been seized by euphoria when it turns to the Soviet Union.

The change from simple bilateral trade to more complicated forms of economic cooperation in the form of the joint ventures referred to by Silayev is the ideal of politicians; it has yet to be translated into reality in the Soviet Union. Although there are already a number of German-Soviet joint ventures they often have no more than a pilot function.

With pretty limited involvement German firms are thus able to test the reality of cooperation in the USSR.

There are numerous uncertainties when dealing with top-down restructuring.

Against this background the advanced training programme agreed on for managers from the Soviet Union is a very important move.

Yet even a spectacular agreement, for example, with Volkswagen or Daimler, would not be synonymous with a turn of events in economic relations.

Trade in the narrower sense still dominates in this field, and this continues to be decisely dependent on the revenue the Soviet Union can obtain from its sales of oil and natural gas.

Contrary to Silayev's hopeful announcements German firms even tell of growing pressure by their Soviet partners to agree on barter deals. This is certainly not a sign of progressive economic relations.

Heinz Schmitz

(Handelsblatt, Düsseldorf, 10 April 1989)

INTERNATIONAL

Visions of a Hungary looking towards reform



The West is showing a particularly keen interest in political changes in Hungary.

Yet hardly anyone considers the question of how and why such fundamental change is occurring now.

One could hardly claim that it is the inevitable product of historical necessity.

Many observers point towards the growing economic difficulties facing the country since the mid-Eighties.

Although these have been substantial they were never so great as to make a political about-turn a must.

The Hungarians are by far the most well-off country in the Communist world.

In no other part of the Eastern half of Europe have so many families been able to build a reasonably-sized house as in Hungary.

Admittedly, economic and social reforms make housekeeping money pretty meagre for a large section of the population. What is more, there is a clear pauperisation of part of Hungarian society.

Up to now, however, social discontentment has not triggered political explosions. Writers, who have often given the signal for radical political change in Communist countries, have been restless for a long time in Hungary.

This restlessness only assumed political significance after Politburo member Imre Pozsgay, at the time general secretary of the "Popular Patriotic Front" — a group founded and carefully controlled by the Communist party —, showed a more active interest in writers' complaints.

His visit to a writers' conference in Lakitelek in 1987, during which Hungarian reality was openly criticised, was almost an historic event.

It was here that a vision emerged of a possible Hungary of the future. Only if ideas for reform are carried into the party do they stand a chance of being realised.

As, for example, in Czechoslovakia in 1967/68, where reformist ideas even emanated from higher-ranking party members.

Another example was Yugoslavia in 1970, where party leaders from several nations in the multinational state tried to overcome Titoist late Stalinism.

If a reform movement fails to gain the support of the higher echelons of the party in a country with late Stalinist or Leninist forms of rule it has no option but to incite the man on the street or in the factory to fight against the authorities.

So far, however, the armed power of the state has always gained the upper hand in such a conflict.

In the Soviet Union, on the other hand, reform movements up to now have only been initiated in a top-down direction.

The de-Stalinisation of the 1950s was Khrushchev's own achievement, and he did not have many convinced supporters at the time.

After he was toppled his successors could not and did not want to revoke everything he had effected; the de-Stalinisation of Soviet socialism, however, was discontinued.

An interesting question is why Communist party leaders whose political and intellectual way of thinking was shaped in a period of Stalinism or late Stalinism are now open to reformist ideas.

The answer lies in a conglomerate of determinant factors. One is the fear of losing power — a strange fear in view of the fact that the Leninist system of rule affords its rulers greater power than any other system.

The Stalinist leaders in Hungary and Poland were particularly worried about a possible loss of power after Stalin died, especially in 1956.

This explains their willingness to relieve the situation somewhat for their respective populations.

Before they could do so, however, they were steamrollered by the momentum of historical events.

Sometimes there is a temptation to try and safeguard popular support in the power or successoral struggle.

As in the case of the Bulgarian Alexandrov, for example, whom the ruler Zhivkov ousted from office last summer.

The Hungarian Karoly Grosz also became more and more of a reformist in the struggle for succession to Janos Kádár.

Some Communist leaders turned into reformers out of despair that the party's economic and civilisatory goals to which they subscribed were moving further and further away from reality from one year to the next.

This is undoubtedly the intellectual and emotional road along which Gorbachov arrived at his policy of change.

In Hungary, not only Grósz but also his — weaker — rival Janos Berecz may have pursued this course.

Many Communist leaders were tormented by the feeling of missing legitimacy: who gives the Politburo the right to rule over the people, particularly with such shameful results?

A great deal would suggest that the Hungarian Imre Pozsgay suffered as a result of such "pangs of conscience", in very much the same way as the leaders of reform in Czechoslovakia two decades previously.

Gorbachov and his adviser Yakovlev may have also sensed this shortcoming of the system.

Some Communist leaders became reformist Communist in the wake of a revival of national sentiment, for example, the Croats Tripalo and Savka Dabcevic-Kucar in Yugoslavia or the Slovenian Kavcic at the end of the Sixties.

Other Communist leaders would seem to fear the wrath of the Soviet Union if its country develops into a trouble spot because of inflexible policies. Poland's General Jaruzelski could be a case in point.

As a rule, the decision by Communist leaders to steer a course of reform is rooted in a whole set of motives.

In no single case, however, was this alteration of course predictable.

This in itself is a sobering experience for Communism: its protagonists are not bound by a straitjacket of determinism.

Johann Georg Reissmüller

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 13 April 1989)

Budapest thinks out loud about neutrality

At a time when the mortal remains of Imre Nagy, the executed Hungarian Prime Minister who declared the "neutrality" of the Hungarian People's Republic during the popular uprising in 1956, are being exhumed, discussions have re-emerged in Hungary on the possibility of a neutral Hungary.

No more than a year ago anyone discussing such a possibility would have been branded as a counter-revolutionary in Hungary itself and as a dreamer in the West.

Today, official or at least semi-official Hungarian media have already addressed the subject.

In a comprehensive analysis, for example, the *Budapester Rundschau* said about neutrality: "The status of neutrality has many advantages. Inter alia the military budget can be reduced as seen fit and foreign troops have no business being on national territory."

The Budapest newspaper, however, emphasises that in Hungary's case the question must be raised whether it makes sense to terminate the political and military alliance with a Soviet leadership which clearly backs Hungarian reformist efforts "including the multi-party system, the market economy and the further opening to the West." Despite this qualification, there are definite signs that Budapest is toying with the opportunities of neutrality.

Strictly speaking, Warsaw Pact membership cannot be ended until one year before its offical expiry, which means in the year 2004 at the earliest.

According to the *Budapester Rundschau*, however, this is not the case if a state can prove "that the international military and political situation has changed in such a way as to make the treaty irrelevant."

The newspaper cites the example of General de Gaulle, who pulled France out of Nato's military organisation but left it in Nato's political alliance.

The article concludes with the hope "that European structures will also be able to change in the wake of international change and that the question of neutrality can then be raised in a new way." An interview with President Carter's former security adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski published in the same issue of the *Budapester Rundschau* also fits into this context.

Brzezinski, who was often branded as a Cold War campaigner by Communist propaganda because of his Polish descent, urges greater caution.

He predicts that the crisis in the Soviet Union will last for many years. A "serious relapse" in Moscow cannot be ruled out. "If a coalition between the nomenclature, the KGB and the army came to power, Hungary's scope for freedom would also be greatly restricted."

Brzezinski advises the Hungarians not to withdraw from the Warsaw Pact, but to transform it from within. The Pact should be changed in such a way that it is unable to exert "political pressure".

Membership of the East bloc alliance should not rule out a multi-party system and a free market economy in Hungary. Free elections should be allowed, but Soviet security should not be threatened.

"The maintenance of the alliances would represent a guarantee for the Soviet Union, whereas the member countries would be able to choose their own system."

C.G.Ströhm

(Die Welt, Bonn, 13 April 1989)

Outbreaks pos[e] a dilemma for Moscow

The disturbances in the Soviet rep[ub]lic of Georgia which have [been] bloodily suppressed by special troop[s on] the orders of the Soviet Interior Mi[nistry] are not the first, and also not the la[st] in a chain of national rebellion whi[ch have] seized ethnic groups on the peri[pheral] areas of the Soviet Union.

Gorbachov's policy of reform h[as re]vealed demands for national self-de[ter]mination which the Soviet empire c[an] hardly fulfil without engineering its o[wn] decline.

Neo-Stalinists in the secret polic[e,] the Communist party and in the army undoubtedly blame the party leader [for] this unrest.

The temptation to remove Gorba[chov] and return to the tried and tested m[eth]ods of terror can be expected to grow [as] the mood of unrest spreads.

These national movements always e[x]isted — but were latent. They were co[n]contained by Stalin's fist. A torment[ing] thought involuntarily comes to min[d in] this context.

Was Stalin's merciless terror no[t more] than the result of the paranoid char[acter] of a dictator in the Kremlin? Or was it [the] result of an inherent Machiavellian [...] necessity for an iron clamp with[out] which the Red Empire would have fa[llen] apart?

One decisive determinant for Go[rba]chov's fate will be his ability to ensure [the] membership of the rebellious et[hnic] groups in the Soviet Union using [means] other than terror. Not easy.

In the Baltic states there is more [...] more open recollection of the cyni[cal] horse-trading between Stalin and Hit[ler] who submitted the free republics of E[sto]nia, Latvia and Luthuania to the Sov[iet] yoke.

Demands are voiced for a return [of] former liberties. There has been blo[ody] unrest in Azerbaijan and Armenia. [Un]rest which continues to smoulder a[nd] just as in Georgia, was sparked by re[li]gious conflict.

The hostility between fundamenta[l] Moslems and their Christian neighb[ours] soon became national demands for [self-]determination by the various eth[nic] groups and even for a separation fro[m] the Soviet Union. The brittle ideolog[y] provides no more than a crumbling barr[i]er against such "anti-Soviet" desires.

Perhaps the Georgian Edward Sh[e]vardnadze, will again be able to stam[p] out the embers.

Moscow is drifting into a dilem[ma:] either having to act against [...] groups or pacifying by making conces[]sions. Both responses are dang[erous.]

(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 11 April 198[9])

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FINANCE: Theo Waigel, 49, head of the CSU. Succeeds Gerhard Stoltenberg, who goes to Defence. New to Cabinet. **DEFENCE:** Gerhard Stoltenberg, 60, CDU. Moves from Finance to replace Rupert Scholz, who is out of Cabinet. **HEAD of Chancellor's Office:** Rudolf Seiters, 51, CDU, succeeds Wolfgang Schäuble, who goes to Interior. New to Cabinet. **INTERIOR:** Wolfgang Schäuble, 46, CDU. Moves from Chancellor's Office to succeed Friedrich Zimmermann. **TRANSPORT:** Friedrich Zimmermann, 63, CSU, moves from Interior to take over from Jürgen Warnke. **CONSTRUCTION:** Gerda Hasselfeldt, 37, CSU, takes over from Oscar Schneider, who has no place. New to Cabinet.

HOME AFFAIRS

Changes in political mood force Cabinet changes

Süddeutsche Zeitung

When it really matters, Helmut Kohl is a realist with a good eye for what is feasible and what serves his own interests.

In view of his current difficulties, he has made an interesting cabinet reshuffle.

As a realist he should not expect this move to suddenly change the basic political mood of the country.

Not at any rate before the next magical election date, the European parliamentary election on 18 June, and the local government elections in Rhineland-Palatinate.

As a a clever calculator of power, however, he deserves the credit for having committed the unruly Bavarian CSU to a common route of march by giving the CSU a greater say in cabinet decisions.

The fact that CSU leader Theo Waigel, the new Finance Minister, has agreed to take on the post and thus do something which, for carefully considered reasons, his predecessor as CSU chairman, Franz Josef Strauss, always shied away from, is a success for Kohl's strategy of integration.

An even more important decision is Kohl's selection of a CSU Minister as the new "chief salesman" (government spokesman) of Bonn government policies.

When assessing the last two years of the third Kohl government both exaggerated praise and attempts to attribute the catastrophic image of the government to the Chancellor's own errors in the art of government should be avoided.

The election successes of the Franz Schönhuber's ultra-conservative Republicans are not just the result of a fashionable protest phenomenon, but also — and above all — the result of social changes for which the conservative-liberal government as a whole must assume responsibility.

The Chancellor himself can be criticised for not having realised the trends before it was too late.

In the case of his campaign on ethnic German immigrants he grossly misjudged the situation.

The generally poor image of government policy, however, is not just Chancellor Kohl's doing.

Other leading coalition politicians, whether members of the CDU, CSU or FDP, have been unable to reach agreement in important fields such as interior, legal and foreign policies.

The real congenital defects of the coalition, therefore, are rooted in its start following the general election victory in 1987.

Since then Helmut Kohl has slackened the reins. He allowed the "major" rax reform to be flogged to death in public discussions, and the health reform developed its own negative momentum.

The much-praised appointment of Rupert Scholz as Defence Minister just under a year ago backfired.

The list of avoidable targets for criticism set up by the Chancellor could be extended.

His personal way of dealing with public opinion was such that his assistants in the Federal Press Office often found it difficult to "sell" the government's image to the voters.

Viewed in an overall perspective the Chancellor's cabinet reshuffle is an attempt at a new start at the last possible opportunity. Recent election defeats seriously jeopardised his own position.

He has now tried to deliberately spread the risk of being pilloried as a scapegoat in the event of a new defeat in the European elections in June on many shoulders.

In future, Kohl and Waigel, the CDU and the CSU, will have to share accountability for the cabinet's achievements and shortcomings. For the political era of this Chancellor this is a kind of historical watershed. Kohl has once and for all managed to overcome the Strauss syndrome of maximum influence by the CSU in Bonn despite minimum integration in government responsibility. Once and for all? Waigel's willingness to share a common fate with Kohl also reveals the CSU chairman's willingness to run quite a high risk. The fact that the new government spokesman with ministerial status, Hans Klein (CSU), is formally subordinated to Chancellor Kohl does not lessen his future "accountability" for the successess and failures in the public presentation of the government's activities.

This upvaluation of the CSU is a signal. Waigel and his fellow CSU colleagues in Bonn must now prove that they are able to alter the course.

The other reorganisational moves did not present any big surprises.

Kohl did not want to do without his long-standing comrade-in-arms Gerhard Stoltenberg, particularly since Stoltenberg's move from the Finance to the Defence portfolio serves as a logical justification for the expulsion of Rupert Scholz.

Wolfgang Schäuble's appointment as Interior Minister is viewed by many as a matter of course; it could turn out to be a stroke of genius.

Although this office did not suffer from a lack of leadership under Zimmermann it played an aggressive role of outsider and was unable to contribute that much to a convincing overall government image.

Schäuble's main task will be to defuse numerous controversies, especially with the coalition partner FDP, and attempt to bring about a lasting consensus on interior policy within the coalition. Kohl has mobilised his final reserves.

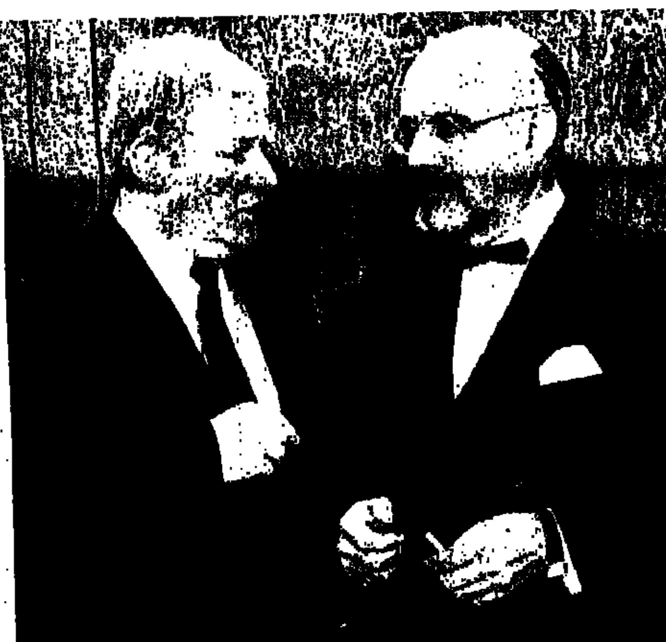
His party's general secretary, Heiner Geissler, however, refused to take on a cabinet post, and the FDP was clever enough not to disrupt the reorganisation.

They have reason to be sceptical, since the second phase of this Kohl government will be characterised by the desperate attempt to win back voters rather than by political highlights.

The Chancellor's fate depends on whether his coalition really believes that it can still achieve this breakthrough.

Martin E. Süskind

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 14 April 1989)



New spokesman: Friedhelm Ost (left) makes way for Hans Klein, who moves over from Development Aid.

(Photos: Werek 2, Poly-Press 2, Spiegl 1, Sven Simon 2)

New spokesman is never lost for a word

The new government spokesman in Bonn and future "Minister for Special Tasks", Hans ("Jonny") Klein, knows his way around journalism.

The former Development Aid Minister has friends in all political camps, especially in the media sector.

This could turn the 57-year-old CSU politician into the trump card in Chancellor Kohl's new Cabinet.

Klein was already being considered as a possible spokesman a year ago as Friedhelm Ost was having a bad run.

Ost, who worked on TV before becoming spokesman, now becomes director of Deutsche Welle (Voice of Germany) short-wave radio.

A year ago Klein was not so keen on the job. But now he will do his utmost to improve the government's bedraggled public image.

Klein hopes to "keep the pipeline between political decision-makers and the media as short as possible." At the same time, he intends remaining candidate for mayor of Munich.

Many feel that Klein, a former newspaper correspondent and the successful head of information during the Olympic Games in 1972, is the best man for the task of repairing the government's image: he made a name for himself as a PR expert for the then Chancellor Ludwig Erhard back in 1965.

Klein is sociable, has a smart appearance, is articulate and uses words skilfully. Probably no one else in the Bonn government apparatus can tell a joke or deliver a punch-line better.

The Press corps will have no complaint about lack of entertainment at press conferences.

He is also totally loyal to Chancellor Kohl without having to dissociate himself from the CSU in any way.

Klein was elected into the Bundestag in 1976. He soon gained a reputation as a foreign policy expert.

He worked in the diplomatic service as a press attaché for several years in three Arab countries and in Indonesia.

Political experience and contacts with politicians from all over the world have made Klein realise that he cannot be a "miracle man" no matter how hard he tries "to always do the right and most important thing for the Chancellor."

(Bremer Nachrichten, 14 April 1989)

■ REGIONAL POLITICS

SPD, Greens agree on coalition terms

Both the Social Democrats and the Greens have received overwhelming grass-roots endorsements for a coalition of the two parties in the Frankfurt city assembly.

In the election in March, the CDU lost its absolute majority, leaving the SPD the single biggest party but without enough seats to form a government on its own.

An SPD party conference approved the coalition with only one abstention. A Greens party meeting approved the plan by a large majority.

The rank and file of both parties want a strong coalition led by SPD mayor-elect Volker Hauff.

The SPD would have rather had an overall majority; and discussion before the respective final votes on the coalition revealed the disapproval of many details of the final compromise.

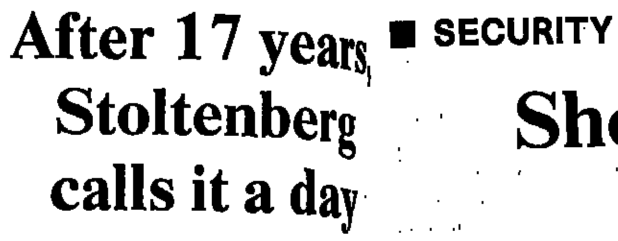
Above all, the Young Socialists (the SPD youth organisation) and the "Fundi" (fundamentalist) wing of the Greens were disappointed at the fact that the coalition delegations also negotiated without consulting the party rank and file, even though they realise that an agreement would have otherwise been impossible. Some members of the SPD are upset because traditional Social-Democratic posts, such as education, women's affairs, foreigners and environment, are now held by Green politicians in the new Frankfurt city council. The Greens are unhappy at their inability to push through all their radical political demands for a a future environmental, transport and housing policy.

The city's department of works, for example, a key institution for the future energy policy of the city, is not subject to the control of the new (Greens-run) environment department.

The hardliners in the respective party conferences were surprisingly isolated.

During the SPD party conference one delegate's remark that "the Greens remain our political opponent" and that the coalition is "anything but a love-match" did not get much applause.

At the Greens' meeting there was an equally cool response to Jutta Ditfurth's opinion that the only function the coalition paper has is "give the future capital-orientated policy a label of environmental compatibility."



Coalition all tied up. Frankfurt's mayor-elect, Volker Hauff (SPD) with Margarethe Nimsch of the Greens. (Photo: dpa)

In the practical implementation of the coalition agreement the Social Democrats and the Greens can be expected to weigh up their own stances on each individual point.

Mutually acceptable solutions will have to be found and then made palatable to grass roots party members and to Frankfurt's voters.

The Frankfurt city government has to operate in the CDU-run *Land* of Hesse.

Past experience indicates that the limits to what is feasible in local government politics — especially in Hesse — will become most readily discernible in the educational and environmental policy fields.

There is, however, a new aspect to the efforts to establish a "Red-Green" coalition in Frankfurt.

The usual fuss made elsewhere about coalitions between these two political parties is missing in Frankfurt.

As opposed to their reaction following the agreement between the SPD and Greens to form a coalition in the Hesse state assembly several years ago companies and banks have not threatened to pull investments or production facilities out of the city of Frankfurt for fear of a possible "Red-Green" chaos.

Apart from his negotiations with the Greens Hauff would appear to have sustained his dialogue with important representatives of industry.

He never grows weary of explaining that the new coalition wants to "shape the dynamic growth of this metropolis in an ecologically and socially compatible manner" and not prevent it altogether.

At least this declaration of intent would also seem to be in the interests of a future-orientated industry.

As was only to be expected from the CDU in its role as opposition party there has been some strong criticism of the coalition's intentions.

Frankfurt's CDU chairman, Heinz Daum, called the coalition paper a "programme for the destruction of Frankfurt's future".

The future city council is to have a CDU deputy mayor, Hans-Jürgen Moog. Heinz Daum left no doubt about the fact that he would have preferred a constellation in which Moog does not provide the SPD-Greens coalition with an alibi of all-party representation.

Daum said that Moog himself had stated that he would not back the policy programme adopted by the SPD and the Greens.

Moog, however, will stay in office. The work of governing the city of Frankfurt can begin. *Evelyn Roll*

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 13 April 1989)

After 17 years, Stoltenberg calls it a day

Former Bonn Finance Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg has stepped down as chairman of the Schleswig-Holstein CDU after more than 17 years. (He is now Bonn Defence Minister).

This decision was not a result of the dirty-tricks scandal surrounding Schleswig-Holstein's ex-Premier Uwe Barschel (CDU).

It was taken at a time when the party had started to recover from this shock.

As Stoltenberg neither knew about nor was involved in Barschel's wheelings and dealings the election of a new party chairman should not be interpreted as a product of the general "sweep up" of the party following this affair.

The party bid farewell to Stoltenberg by paying tribute to his contribution to its development throughout the years.

Nevertheless, the time was ripe for a change.

Because of his commitments in Bonn Stoltenberg had been increasingly unable to take care of party business in his home state.

Worn down by the discussion on tax reforms and the controversial withholding tax on capital savings he was unable to project an image of self-assurance to his party.

The party itself, struggling through the deepest crisis in its history in Schleswig-Holstein, was also in a poor position to strengthen his power base.

The change of leadership indicates that the party wants to terminate the period of atonement and self-pity and resume the struggle for a return to power.

Even though such an attempt is understandable it would remain no more than an unrealistic venture were the CDU in Schleswig-Holstein to forget just how deep-seated the memory of the Barschel affair still is in this northernmost state.

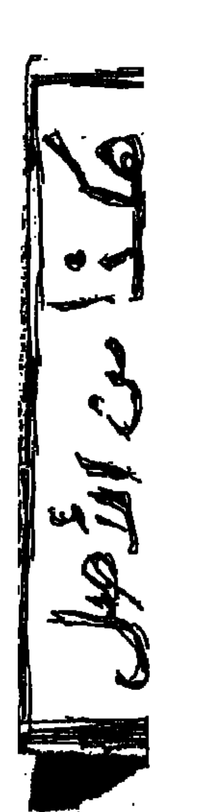
The aggressive demeanour of the new party chairman, Ottfried Hennig — "Who else but us, and when if not now" — may pour balm on the wounds of his party colleagues.

Outside of the party, however, it could be all too easily interpreted as a convenient attempt to suppress the

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Tenacity for the task ... new CDU chief Hennig. (Photo: Sven Simon)



■ SECURITY

Should German troops be used in UN peace-keeping forces?

The United Nations has given Germany a reminder of what its responsibilities in efforts towards safeguarding world peace should be. The reminder has come more quickly than some of Bonn's more blinkered politicians may have liked.

In New York, the UN Secretary-General, Perez de Cuellar, spoke to the leader of the Social Democrat opposition in Bonn, Hans-Jochen Vogel, about German troops taking part in a UN peace mission in Central America.

The organisation is considering sending troops from Canada, Spain and the Federal Republic of Germany to the five Central American countries to oversee the peace process.

Vogel had to dutifully hesitate because, last year, his party decided that this was just the thing that should not happen.

On the other hand, the Bonn government is not unwilling to hear the call of the United Nations but it is afraid of the historical change that would be part and parcel of it.

Bundeswehr soldiers with blue helmets and weapons in Nicaragua — that is the sort of picture that people in this country must first get used to.

They are used to thinking in terms of Paris, London or Moscow but not in places at the other end of the earth where goods are sold and raw materials for the benefit of this country are bought.

Germany does very little in fact to help the idea of global detente. That is connected with the fact that it had some unfortunate experiences when, towards the end of the 19th century, it emerged as a supposed world power. From 1871, the young German Reich failed in its attempts to learn to get to its feet as a colonial nation.

Now that a divided, a "wounded nation" as Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann (of the Allensbach opinion polling organisation) described it, is so involved with itself and its injuries, it is in even less of a position to help others with their problems.

A typical expression of this attitude is in Basic Law, Article 24 of which talks about "a system of reciprocal collective security" and, in Article 87a, provides that the Bundeswehr, the armed forces, are allowed only to be deployed for defence.

Generations of politicians have traced back to this the legal subterfuge that operations outside the Nato zone are not permissable and, as an consequence, neither is participation in United Nations peace missions.

That it is a matter of subterfuge is shown by a brief that Vogel arranged for when he was Minister of Justice. The reality is that the political will is missing. That is partly understandable because the problem has so far been discussed under American pressure; the Germans, as a Nato power, are meant to adopt a world political role in cases where, for example, crude-oil routes in the Persian Gulf or other strategically significant areas for the alliance are involved.

The government in Bonn has, riding over hefty domestic criticism, even extended the length of conscription to reassure the Americans about "spreading the load."

The 15-month length of service was the sacrificial lamb (service is to be increased to 18 months) which is meant to head off for Chancellor Helmut Kohl demands from Nato over the next few years about areas of foreign policy.

It was under this somewhat constructed constellation that Willy Brandt and others also suffered.

When Germany entered the United Nations, it could have become a force as for peace as smaller nations, like Austria, Norway and Sweden, did.

Last year, some SPD politicians submitted a proposal intended to get things moving away from this situation of rigidity.

They called for a change in Basic Law (the Bonn Constitution) with the aim of expressly allowing German troops to operate under the aegis of the United Nations in cases when their use outside the North Atlantic Treaty area under the Nato flag was not allowed.

Hasty burial

This idea was buried far too quickly, not least by the majority at the SPD annual conference. It certainly contained a few problems because constitutions are not any good at deciding on topical political disputes.

Nevertheless, the SPD discussion also made it possible for the governing coalition in Bonn to push the ticklish issue back on to the back burner.

That this delaying tactic has only limited effect is something that Vogel noticed in New York. The Federal Republic cannot avoid developing a certain reputation at the United Nations

Germany is so economically powerful and, at the same time, so politically dependent that it just cannot leave the responsibility for world peace to others.

Jörg Bischoff

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 8 April 1989)

CDU change

Continued from page 4

pleasant memories of the past. The fact that Hennig, who has represented Westphalian constituencies in the Bundestag since 1976, was successful against three candidates who were born in Schleswig-Holstein is indicative of the "thinning out" of the party's upper echelons.

Usually, the fact that the candidate is a native of Schleswig-Holstein was a significant asset.

Back in the days when Barschel was Premier Ottfried Hennig had nothing to do with Schleswig-Holstein, where he once went to school and studied.

This absence may help him now. Hennig possesses tenacity and leadership qualities.

He will now have to seek contact with the regional CDU organisation, with which he is not familiar, and a population with plenty of problems to complain to politicians about.

A great deal will depend on how he manages to combine his new task with his commitments as parliamentary state secretary in the Federal Ministry for Intra-German Relations.

(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 1 April 1989)

Manpower and cash crises are threatening the Bundeswehr

It is a time of peace, but the Bundeswehr is under threat. The number of its problems is growing. Some of them threaten its very basis.

There is a growing number of conscientious objectors; and in this day and age where considerations of individual advantage are more important than social obligation, the alternative civilian service does offer many of conscription age advantages.

Individual have a genuine choice between the two types of service (civil alternative is 18 months compared with 15) and social recognition of the civilian form is increasing.

These days, it is not the civilian objectors but soldiers — for example pilots — who find they rate lowly in public esteem.

The effect of two factors cannot be overestimated: the changing events in the Soviet Union and a decline in the feeling of being threatened by the Russians.

This is important, because it was out of this feeling of being threatened that gave the Bundeswehr its legitimation. Attempts by the Bundeswehr to justify itself as a taken-for-granted organic part of society which needs no external threat in order to justify itself has so far had no recognisable success.

That sort of idea is for many people merely a concept of the state as a functional entity. State and army are not understood as ends in themselves or even as integral parts of that entity. They are institutions to be used, not bearers of prestige. Therein lies an important difference between this country and her neighbouring states and allies.

The number of conscientious objectors is likely to reach 100,000 a year. In this way, the Bundeswehr is losing more soldiers than it will gain by the increase in length of service from 15 to 18 months — that is, 60,000 a year. If this large proportion of young men did not opt for the civilian alternative, then their contemporaries would not, as from 1 June, have to serve three months longer in the Bundeswehr.

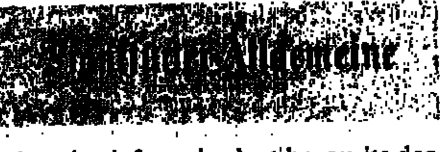
This, in turn, touches on other difficulties: a shortage of people and of money. Because of the decreasing birthrate, there are not enough men of conscription age. There will son be a shortage of volunteers as well.

Volunteers are mostly regimental officers, many non-commissioned, including a large number of corporals. In the middle of the 1990s, estimates of the manpower shortage vary between 10,000 and 15,000. This shortage will make itself painfully obvious in the 90s because it will mainly affect the future training, mobilisation and reserve forces.

Reservists and those of call-up age come as a rule from the world of commerce where effectiveness is the prime necessity. Against this recruits tend to measure their service in the Bundeswehr which, in turn, can only do the right thing by these people when it has at its command sufficient qualified officers and NCOs. If there aren't enough, the result is ineffectiveness.

This has all been a source of vexation up until now. If it continues, the readiness of people to accept the Bundeswehr will decline even more. That's why the Bundeswehr has to set itself limits. Uncomfortable decisions are unavoidable, given the financial handicaps.

The Bundeswehr has suffered from financial shortages ever since 1974



when the defence budget began its decline from 25 per cent of the total budget to the present 18 per cent. Today, the equipment is likely to be older than the soldier who uses it. Its value as a weapon is equivalent.

All this forces the Defence Minister to negotiate. As a politician, the minister, Rupert Scholz, has the job of letting the Cabinet know the situation. But the prevailing wish in the Cabinet is to leave everything like it is and to act as if the obligations towards the alliance were fulfilled. As the commander-in-chief of the Bundeswehr, Scholz should give his generals and their staffs a free hand to make adjustments to accommodate the declining levels of resources — so they can cut the suit according to the cloth.

This applies especially to a reduction in the number of army brigades. Special ists have long been saying that this must be a consequence of the diminishing resources if other units are to be maintained and if training is to be held at the required level.

Above all, Scholz should ensure that those means that are available are used as efficiently as possible. That means that procurement planning, including weapons, should be the responsibility of one man: the *Generalinspekteur*, the chief of the armed forces staff.

He should see the Bundeswehr's tasks in their entirety, set priorities and be responsible only to the minister for how much money is handed out and for what. The days when the cash was divided up among the army, the Luftwaffe and the navy according to a firm formula and the armaments plans of each service were its own responsibility have to be consigned to the past.

So that the *Generalinspekteur* can carry the compete responsibility for armaments plans, he needs to be given adequate powers. He must maintain a good relationship with the chiefs of staff but must not be dependent on them. He should also be allowed to make decisions on his own. That means he must be the chief.

Karl Feldmeyer

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 3 April 1989)

■ THE HEALTH SYSTEM

Growth of private insurance schemes produces some social imbalances

The German health system is funded by health companies. Most people are covered by statutory, semi-autonomous companies. There are also private companies offering a more sophisticated range of benefits. More people are joining private schemes. Companies, especially big companies are finding that it is cheaper running their own scheme and employees are happy to pay less than they otherwise would. But this draws off many well-paid workers from the state-backed schemes, which are then forced to increase their contributions. The problem is outlined by Thomas Linke for *Die Welt*.

What is a businessman doing who saves several millions when the competition gets tough? Is he acting against the best interests of all? *Hardly.*

He is doing what is expected of him. He takes some kind of action, he makes his products more attractive on the marketplace and saves jobs.

In addition he gives his employees DM50 to DM100 more per month. Is that acting without solidarity? Seen in that light, no.

What is a businessman doing, however, who acts so that other companies in the area, and their employees, have to pay considerably more for health insurance? In the view of the other firms he is acting against the best interests of all.

Firms have been hearing of such cases, firms which want to set up their own company health insurance schemes. These include well-known companies such as Audi, BMW and the Deutsche Bank.

All workers at all levels pay for this and no-one can say anything against that in a free market economy.

The companies have to keep costs down. Fringe benefits have become more and more costly. Consultants have found a new area for their activities: how much money can be saved with a company operating its own health insurance fund?

The principle is relatively simple. If the company pays high salaries contributions to its own health scheme can be



kept down. These high-paid employees leave the local health insurance organisation.

Because of this the average wage in the local health insurance scheme drops, so contributions have to be increased. This is a vicious circle.

It affects those who, because of *Kassenrecht* (the law regulating who can go into which insurance scheme) are already disadvantaged anyway, the workers. They have to remain in the local health insurance organisation; better paid employees can change to private health insurance.

It is here not a matter of whether a dozen or so companies, wanting to set up their own health insurance schemes, are acting in the best interests of all, but rather the solidarity of society as a whole being brought into question.

Does it mean that we are slipping into a situation where the relatively poor paid must contribute more for the same health insurance than the relatively better paid?

Is the principle of equality, enshrined in Basic Law, to be taken seriously if a worker in Papenburg pays 16 per cent of his gross wages for health insurance and a salaried employee pays 12 per cent?

The gap between worker and salaried employee is nowhere else so wide as in health insurance.

The chemicals industry has acknowledged *standard payments in collective* wage agreements. Workers and salaried employees pay into different funds for retirement pensions, but the amounts paid in are the same.

Only in health insurance are workers the coolies of society.

In this there is an economic anachronism. In economically-weak regions with low wages health insurance is the dearest.

Contributions to the Allgemeine Ortskrankenkasse (AOK), for instance, are much lower in the economically hard-hit north and west than they are in the prosperous south.

So far Labour Minister Norbert Blüm has not been able to tackle these problems. The Bonn coalition is wary of arousing the anger bound to occur when there is any tampering with this.

But the government is now paying for its delays, for with the plans to set up company health insurance schemes the pressure is now coming from the outside.

To forbid the formation of these health schemes would be against the social system. A coalition, devoted to the free market economy, made up of conservatives and liberals, would then be limiting competition, where it must be reinforced.

Furthermore it is highly improbable that by banning company health insurance schemes the AOK would be helped in any way.

For many years both kinds of health insurance scheme have maintained a stable membership. The local health insurance schemes, such as AOK, have about six million contributors, the company health schemes about four million.

Since 1970, however, private insurance schemes for salaried workers have increased their number of contributing members from seven to 12 million.

This reflects the trend in a service industries society. Salaried employees in the Federal Republic have been in the majority for a long time. These people, earning relatively good salaries, join the private, cheaper, insurance schemes.

Workers earning less stay with the AOK, along with the "bad risks," such as the unemployed and disabled.

The number of salaried employees contributing to local insurance schemes such as AOK has dropped ten per cent. Banning company health insurance schemes would not change that.

In specific cases problems arise suddenly almost 30,000 AOK contributors pull out and join a new company health insurance scheme, as with in Ingolstadt.

Contributions to the AOK on the spot must inevitably be increased despite the fact that within the scale of health service reforms contributions should go down.

This obviously disturbs politicians involved in social welfare policies in the Bonn coalition. It is *still* questionable just how far *contributions* will go down in Blüm's *health* service reform.

This must be made clear fairly soon to show to people, some of whom are indignant, the sense of the economic measures.

The elections in West Berlin and Hesse did not turn out so badly for the coalition because of the reforms.

On the one hand there was an understanding for increased contributions but a ban on company insurance schemes would be like replacing one evil with another. It would give add reform of the health insurance schemes, geared to competition.

Thomas Linke

(Die Welt, Bonn, 4 April)

Shortage of nurses: too much stress and not enough money

The lack of nurses, male and female, has become a nightmare in the Federal Republic's hospitals.

Senior physicians are announcing that they might have to close their clinics because of the lack of nursing sisters and orderlies. It is being said that patients can no longer be properly cared for.

The nurses' professional body sees the situation grimly. The salaried employees trade union estimates that there is a lack of 6,000 nurses. This is an enormous deficiency in the view of the 225,000 nurses and male orderlies working in hospitals.

These figures do not include the more than 25,000 children's nurses and orderlies and the 35,000 semi-trained nurses, male and female. Hospitals employ more than 800,000 in all.

The Hospitals Association does not agree with estimates but the Association does regard the situation in the wards with concern.

Even the state health insurance schemes, where more and better paid contributors make a significant difference to high costs, do not deny the seriousness of the situation.

Hans-Georg Kraushaar of the local health insurance office in Frankfurt said that the health insurance schemes were not insensitive to the problems of nurses and orderlies.

He was speaking in Bad Nauheim before 300 representatives from hospitals in Hesse at a congress on the outlook for nursing in the 1990s.

The results of a survey conducted by the nurses professional association confirmed descriptions which have been made of working conditions in hospital wards.

Christel Bienstein, lecturer at the association's training centre in Essen, described a surgical ward with patients who had recently undergone operations where, statistically speaking, one nurse had to look after 15.11 patients.

Another survey showed that on one ward where 90 intra-muscular injections were to be given, 85 were done wrongly. Because of the hectic pace at the ward, hygiene was neglected.

There are a number of reasons why this deficiency is getting greater. An important factor is certainly the barely adequate number of personnel on the wards. The regulations laying down the ratio of patients to nursing staff of 1969 count here.

The changes on the wards, which dramatic advances in medical technology

Frankfurter Allgemeine

have brought about, have not been take into account so far.

More and more hospital personnel are getting out because of the strains, often too high, placed on them.

This means the work is harder for those who remain in the hospitals. They then get out, making matters worse.

It is becoming more and more difficult for hospitals to keep trained personnel, even if they are paid better salaries.

The gross salary for a member of the nursing staff is about DM2,400 per month. A nursing sister earns about DM3,500, including extra payments for special service.

Some sisters who have to spend three years getting qualified, and who are on duty in shifts, through the night and at the weekend, earn less than an untrained saleswoman.

Semi-trained ward helpers, male and female, who take a year's course, are paid correspondingly less.

A spokesman for the labour office reported on cases in which nursing sisters moved out to work in the women's department of a clothes shop.

Apart from earning more they had more sociable working hours and less stress.

The nursing profession can be characterised by the slogan: "Plenty of stress, low pay."

The problem cannot be solved with just more money and more personnel. Anyone who takes up nursing doesn't do it just for the money. There is a desire to serve people, to be ready to take on responsiblity for the sick.

An appropriate salary is important, of course, but it is not everything for those in the nursing profession.

If the crisis in nursing is to be solved far-reaching changes are vital.

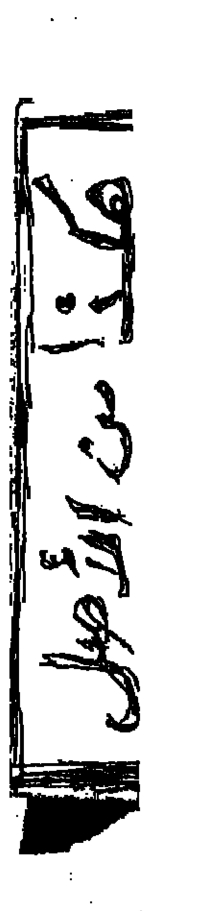
Over the past 120 years health care has been considerably developed for everyone. Now ten per cent of the gross national product, or DM250bn, is allotted to health care. Health care is a growing sector.

Higher demands, medical and technical, are now made of nurses and orderlies. When looking after patients in intensive care they are responsible for equipment, which an engineer would personally supervise in industry.

The nursing profession has not kept in line with this development.

There are no career opportunities

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■ MONOPOLIES

Minister in hot seat over Daimler-Benz takeover bid

Daimler-Benz's policy under chief executive Edzard Reuter is to expand and diversify away from motor vehicles. Its latest target is Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm, a large Bavarian aerospace company. The acquisition would bring Daimler-Benz's annual sales to about 80 billion marks, nearly 4 per cent of the country's gross national product. The cartel authorities say the planned merger contravenes competition legislation. But it does not have the last say on the matter. That lies with the Economics Minister, Helmut Haussmann (FDP). Haussmann has been at the ministry only since December and the situation he inherited puts him in a difficult position. Klaus-Peter Schmid takes up the story for the Hamburg weekly, *Die Zeit*.

If this is the market economy, then the textbooks should be rewritten. The chief of the biggest industrial group in Germany — in turnover terms — is in the process of bringing off the greatest merger ever in Germany. And it is doing it with the help of the Federal government in Bonn.

The cartel authorities protest that the law does not allow such a merger. The industrial chief says: It doesn't matter. We've allowed in any case for a delay of three or four months and the exceptions rule is sure to be applied.

He was referring to a power called *Ministererlaubnis*, (by permission of the minister). The industrial chief is Edzard Reuter, chief executive of Daimler-Benz, and he has no doubt that the minister whose territory this is, Economics Minister Helmut Haussmann, will not withhold permission for Daimler-Benz to takeover aerospace company Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm (MBB).

Herr Haussmann wriggles a bit and protests that "the impression has been spread, not least because of statements by both interested parties, that the minister's permission has already been given." But the fact is that no one, including Haussmann himself, knows how can this blow against free competition can now be prevented.

For Haussmann it is almost a case of the horse having bolted before he took office. The stable door was opened by his predecessor, Martin Bangemann, who went unmourned to Brussels to become a European Commissioner.

Herr Bangemann had been quite uninhibitedly hobnobbing with the men from Daimler-Benz and MBB with the result that, as early as November, a secretary of state, Erich Riedl (CSU) was trumpeting it round that a rejection by the cartel authority would be unimportant because the minister's approval for the super merger was ready for signature.

That has left Haussmann with the options of either giving the deal the nod or leaving the entire Bonn government exposed to ridicule. Yet he is not a yes man. Haussmann was born in the Swabian town of Bad Urach. he has been a member of the FDP for 20 years and a member of parliament for 13.

He has always been protesting against something. In 1979 he protested at further construction of the fast-breeder reactor at Kalkar; in 1982, he did not want the Free Democrats, the Liberals, to change allegiance from the Social Democrats to the conservative union (CDU/CSU).

But, on the latter issue he proved flexible enough to adjust to something which he couldn't alter. The resignation threat of a minister converted him to seeing the need for the change. And, of course, he who is constructed out of Swabian timber must be adaptable if he intends pursuing a career.

At one stage, Haussmann had no doubt that the Economics Ministry was the job he wanted. A few months before he took office, he said: "It's great when a man gets such a chance at the age of 45."

Since coming to office, he has tackled many things that Bangemann badly neglected. Files are once again being opened in the top echelons and staff who were frustrated by the solo style of Bangemann are once again being consulted.

Haussmann never forgets to praise his "very loyal" people and to give the assurance that "the house is behind me." There are intended displays of harmony, such as when he made his first informal appearance before the Bonn Press Club. There were three secretaries of state with him. And before he departed for the Easter break, he handed out praise for all the extra work which had been done. A seasoned campaigner like Otto Schlecht, who has been a secretary of state since 1973, could allow himself an empathetic grin.

The teamwork at this highest level is working so well that Haussmann has avoided making any serious gaffs during these first months in office. Bangemann, by contrast, seemed intent on putting his foot in it as soon as he took over the ministry in 1984. And no one held him back. Haussmann prefers to put his trust in his staff's specialist knowledge.

He moved with care into uncharted waters. There was the European conference aimed at relieving many fears of middle-class people about the European internal market; there was pressure over the ticklish issue of deciding what to do about coal-mining. Surprising was his renunciation of the FDP idea of doing away entirely with the trading tax (payable by some companies) and increasing value-added tax.

Haussmann claims responsibility for pushing proposed foreign-trade legislation through the Cabinet, but self praise is premature because it still has to go through Parliament. And dropping a bad tax plan does not automatically ensure that something better will follow. However, one experienced observer in the Chancellor's Office thinks Haussmann will have no problems here.

An option he could do without... Helmut Haussmann. (Photo: Werek)

So there is not too much ground for concern if it were not for, in Haussmann's words, "a certain inherited load." The case of the Daimler-Benz-MBB merger is of especial significance because it is in the end, in the minister's arena.

The Economics Ministry understands itself as Karl Schiller (a Social Democrat who held both Economics and Finance portfolios during the 1960s and beginning of the 1970s) described it, as "a ministry for convincing" and a defender of the economic order. The central instrument for this task is the *Gesetz gegen Wettbewerbsbeschränkungen*, (law against restricting competition) which *many* consider as a sort of "a constitution governing the market economy."

This law, known as GWB, was the one the cartel authorities decided applied in the case of Daimler-Benz and MBB. They say such a merger would lead to Daimler-Benz having such a dominant position in the market that it would contravene the law.

But GWB provides for the Economics Minister to set aside a cartel authority ruling. The minister, however, must weigh up the disadvantages of the merger against the "overall economic advantages" or show that it is "justified because it is overwhelmingly in the public interest."

It is an impossible task for Haussmann. He says he wants to fix up "the bungle", (his words) but not how. When the observation is made that the matter has already long been decided and that he cannot change anything, he answers: "People should wait and see."

The first important thing was to avoid irregularities. He intended to adhere

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A (restricted) cartel authority

If the federal cartel authority does reject the planned merger between Daimler-Benz and MBB on competition grounds, the two firms are allowed to appeal to the Economics Minister within a month.

This is provided for in the law governing competition, *Gesetz gegen Wettbewerbsbeschränkungen* (law against restricting competition).

Article 24 says the minister, who is currently a Free Democrat, Helmut Haussmann, can give the green light if, on balance, the reduction of competition brings overall economic advantages.

The minister must make a decision inside four months and he must obtain an assessment from the cartel authority, which is an independent body. But he doesn't have to accept what it recommends.

Since the introduction of monopolies controls in 1973, 11 cases have been referred to the minister. Four have been approved, some with conditions attached. *AP*

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 30 march 1989)

■ HANOVER FAIR

The importance of knowledge, not products

STUTTGARTER NACHRICHTEN

The Hanover Fair showed the fascination that technology exerts. The city was bursting at the seams with visitors.

Some had to travel each day from Hamburg, Bremen or other places because of accommodation was impossible to find. Hotels were full. Accommodation prices went through the roof. Some Hanover people even went on holiday to cash in on the boom by letting their homes.

Ships were moored on the river and used as hotels. The Bundesbahn stationed sleeping waggons at the fair's own railway station.

Visitors did not come just to admire the equipment. They were interested in solutions to technical problems and in ideas.

Austria's Chancellor Franz Vranitzky, emphasised this when he said: "The wellbeing of the nation is not based on goods, owned by the people, but in its technical knowledge, which produces these goods."

This quotation comes from Luigi Pasinetti, the famous Italo-American economist.

Know-how was the most important aspect of Germany's swift reconstruction after the Second World War, and it created the fundamentals for constant growth and for the good reputation of our mechnical engineering industry.

There were plenty of ideas, but which were important and in the end could be applied?

This is not decided by a committee of experts, nor by an economic council, but by the marketplace.

Unimpeded competition decides who is the "winner" and throws away other approaches as unusable.

It is vital for every producer to keep up with the changing requirements of customers.

But where there are victors there are also losers and failed pessimists, who fear for their property.

This "psychology of the marketplace" is demonstrated at its best in the reactions to the magic words, "Europe 1992."

While for months so many major companies have painted in glowing colours the opportunities held out by a single European market, a more sober assessment has prevailed in some quarters, apprehension even.

For the first time Helmut Haussmann made the opening speech at the as Economics Minister. He emphasised that there would be for no-one "a single European market à la carte."

He said that Germany could not pick out those points from the single European market programme, which suited the country well, and wall itself in from the remaining factors.

There had to be a readiness to change and this must begin in people's heads.

This is where the problem lies. Haussmann was applauded by his audience of industrialists when he spoke of a change-over to "a flexible society on the offensive," when he said that he intended to reduce corporation tax.

Many workers regard the "greyhound theory" expounded by FDP politicians with scepticism — a theory that states that, in the single European market, the quick will put pressure on the slow, the agile on the inflexible.

They worry about their jobs. Not every one of them is swift, not everyone can keep up the pace.

Many will fall by the wayside. But even a single European market must cushion workers from hardship if the concept is to be supported by all sectors of society, including the trades unions.

The advantages of the single European market outweigh everything else. Most of the exhibitors at Hanover were convinced of this.

There will be no impediments to manufacturers selling their products in neighbouring countries. They way has been cleared for many cooperation agreements.

Politicians and economists who voiced their views at Hanover clearly denied that a single European market would be "Fortress Europe."

They emphasised that the single market would not be shut off from the outside. This credo was expressed time and time again.

Nevertheless the worries of the non-EC states are not overcome so lightly. The fears the Americans and the Japanese have of the fortress have not been dispelled.

In Switzerland as well the development is being followed with close attention, and Chancellor Vranitzky would rather lead Austria into the European Community today than tomorrow.

Eckehart Rotter

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 6 April 1989)

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"embarrassingly closely" to monopolies procedures. So far, there have been four mergers granted with conditions. On top of that, one application was given part permission. But none of these was in the same league as Daimler-Benz and MBB.

Haussmann's moment of truth is this month when the cartel authority finally issues its ruling against. Then this self-assured Liberal must show that that everything that is good for Daimler is not necessarily also good for the German economy; that Herr Reuter and Herr Alfred Herrhausen (who, as "spokesman" or chairman of Deutsche Bank, Daimler's biggest shareholder, has a place on the Daimler-Benz board) are not going to be allowed to decide what sort of economic politics Germany should have; and above all to show that everything was not nicely arranged down to the last detail in the hobnobbing last year between Bonn and Stuttgart (Daimler-Benz headquarters).

How Haussmann will achieve this is his secret. Perhaps he will approve the Deal of the Century but impose some conditions in the area of military production — and that would be that.

He says there is no chance of his not being the minister when the decision is taken. Before he became minister, he said he wasn't preparing himself for a job to last until 1990, but was looking way beyond that.

Today he observes, without false modesty, that "I enjoy esteem in the Cabinet." Why should he worry about his position merely because the Chancellor is restructuring his government? And in any case, any successor to Haussmann would still have to deal with the Daimler case and, presumably, with the same dreaded *Ministererlaubnis.*

Klaus-Peter Schmid

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 7 April 1989)



Qualified people needed to keep one jump ahead

Kieler Nachrichten

This is not just an exhibition which deals with products. It has quickly become an event in which people play a central role.

Most of the 6,000 exhibitors from all over the world will return home with bulging orderbooks. The question is whether the orders will involve all their workers back home.

The German economy is booming almost as it did in the early days of the nation, so selling is not a major problem.

What is lacking is qualified people who can improve almost perfect products and keep their companies ahead in technical developments.

Managers are doing well in Hanover. The talk around the meeting places is that the market is at its best.

Almost the whole of West German industry has glowing balance sheets for 1988.

Most people said that 1989 would be a dead year. But it now looks as if it might even better last year.

One success seems to be following after another. Ernst Pieper, boss of the Salzgitter Group, was bubbling with optimism but at the same time he said that in every large family there was one child with the measles — referring to the Salzgitter Group, of course.

Detlef Karsten Rohwedder, boss of the Hoesch Group, amplifed this. He said: "There is not a cloud in the sky in the sectors where we operate."

Almost all mechanical engineering and plant construction groups are showing two-digit growth rates.

- Mannesmann report that turnover increased by 16 per cent in the first two months of this year: it had alreay increased by 22 per cent in a similar period in 1988.
- Krupp has reported that to date incoming orders have increased by 20 per cent compared with the same period last year.
- Daimler-Benz had a record year of production and sales for commercial vehicles last year and expects that production and sales will increase by two per cent this year.
- Thyssen expects turnover for financial year 1988/1989 to increase by between three and four billion deutschemarks.
- Klöckner steel is expected to double turnover between now and the mid-1990s.
- Siemens has expanded turnover in the first five months of this financial year by 13 per cent.

Equally the chemicals industry is continuing its steep growth rate. The electronics industry is compensating for narrow profit margins by an inexhaustible potential for innovation, and the building industry, which has been able to creep out of the doldrums on the quiet, seems to be reaching for new heights.

Workers are getting a fair wage at the present. There is a considerable readiness to spend, but this readiness is not muddled.

People are not throwing their money about heedlessly. People think before they buy.

Because of backlogs in demand, furniture is at present selling faster than cars, which have for a long time been the sunny side of the street.

Tourism has suddenly become calmed: people are saying that their holiday was not as great as it could have been.

Expensive restaurants, when they have to offer is what clients are doing well.

The central office of the German Retail Trade Association frankly conceded shortly after Christmas in view of ... growth that customers, according to retailers, would like to buy more, but because they have almost everything not rightly know what to buy.

The outlook for the future seems better than it has been for a long time. There is no likelihood of an increase in energy prices (the competition between supplier countries is great), nor should there be any dramatic increase in interest rates, which hobble activities (because there is plenty of capital looking for a home).

Instead, there are the prospects of a single European market which is scheduled to be in place by the end of ... This should bring an upswing in ... at no cost.

One risk

There is also a second prospect equally as inviting and comparable to the Economic Miracle in the Federal Republic's early days. It is moving parallel to all these other developments: it is the opening up of the East Bloc to free market economy activities.

There is only one obvious risk which threatens the upswing in the long-term, an upswing which has been again accelerated in text-book fashion by the junction of the consumer goods boom with a new capital investment goods boom: this is the wage negotiations for the coming year.

The engineering union, IG Metall, regarded as a leader in wage negotiations, intends to battle not only for a 35-hour working week, "at last," but also for improvements in pay.

Hans Steinkühler of IG Metall has promised his members a tough battle.

Why? Further wage increases are justified and the shorter working week possible if there is a counter-advantage offered, a preparedness for greater flexibility in working hours so that machines can operate for longer periods.

In short, why should not Friday, Saturday and Sunday be ordinary working days with corresponding adjustments in pay and time-off, if international competition requires this and the competitive abilities of employers call for this? Jobs are dependent on an employer's ability to compete.

The seven fat years began in 198... with the moderation of the Bonn government in extending its responsibilities, adjusted to economic developments as a whole, and citizens' understanding that the necessary finances had to be there to fund state welfare benefits.

If policies move in the right direction then there will be a further seven fat years.

If a new greediness forces a change of course, then there are lean years before us, and no-one can say how many.

Wolfgang Buhmann

(Kieler Nachrichten, 8 April 1989)

■ TRANSPORT

Human error 'biggest cause' of road accidents



If 900 people died of Aids every year in Germany, the government would massively step up its advertising campaign, Gisela Stete from the Darmstadt Technical College, told a meeting to discuss death on the roads. She was referring to the fact that 900 people are killed every year on German autobahns.

And Hans-Günter Hilse, the head of the Traffic Studies department of the Hiltrup Police Academy (Münster) said: "If over 8,000 people died in this country every year in plane crashes, flying would be stopped."

He was referring to the 8,213 deaths on all German roads in 1987.

Yet nobody seems to be unduly concerned about "death on the roads" on such a huge scale.

This topic was discussed during a colloquium held by the Protestant Academy in Tutzing.

It sometimes seems as if the death toll is regarded as the inevitable price to be paid for speedy, convenient and individual mobility.

Even if there are thousands of more or less serious road accidents every day this does not represent "normality" of a society with a clear trend towards a second car, with an excellent road network, and with increasingly perfected vehicles.

In purely statistical terms each motorised road-user can expect to be involved in a crash after 20,000 journeys - whether on the way to work or to holidays. The probability of losing one's life in such an accident is lower.

Most people ignore this risk; the possibility of personal involvement in an accident becomes an abstract statistical possibility.

This explains why — an aspect criticised during the conference in Tutzing — road safety is treated as a subject of secondary importance.

Another reason is the fact that, since reaching its peak in 1970, there has been a steady decline in the number of deaths on the road.

At the beginning of the conference Professor Karl-Heinz Lenz from the Federal Traffic Institute described technical safety measures for the car (safety-belt, more stable construction), in the road network and in the rescue system as the main reasons for this declining trend.

He also claimed that road safety instruction had made an important contribution.

The conference, however, showed that it is precisely in this field that a great deal needs to be improved.

Peter Sturm from the Darmstadt Technical College presented figures confirming something which most Germans know from experience or have read about in official reports: motorists on German roads are driving faster and faster and are becoming increasingly inconsiderate and aggressive.

The secretary of the German Road Safety Council, Herbert Warnke, warned against blaming the high accident figures solely on "reckless drivers."

He pointed out that "over 8,000 deaths on the roads each year cannot be attributed to reckless drivers only." Almost all accidents are caused by "human error".

If someone drives too fast, moves up too close to the car ahead or drives in a drunken state (these are the three main reasons for accidents) even the most sophisticated technology can only limit the consequences.

In Warnke's opinion the main task must be to increase safety and "protect people against mistakes."

Government measures are an essential yet unfortunately inadequate means. The heated discussion on speed limits is just one aspect.

It is also important to emphasise that the police is understaffed when it comes to the necessary controls.

With the help of technical measuring devices Hans-Günter Hilse estimated that a motorist would theoretically have to travel 6,850 kilometres before running into a "speed trap."

The chances of being stopped and checked for drunken driving are even less: for every motorist who is caught with an unacceptably high alcohol level 300 inebriated fellow motorists are not stopped at all.

Experts feel that both the low probability of being involved in an accident and the low risk of being caught when committing even serious offences do not improve conduct on the roads.

The decisive question is why this conduct is not based on solidarity in the first place.

The experts in Tutzing by and large agreed that the high degree of tolerance shown by German society towards the consumption of alcohol is a major explanatory factor.

Many speakers complained about the discrepancy between the values expected of the working environment and those expected of motorists.

A good worker is expected to use his elbows to make a career, be effiency-minded and highly competitive. Behind the wheel, however, such "virtues" lead to an overestimation of abilities, reckless conduct and an inadequate sense of responsibility.

Furthermore, the ego-boost which is often missing in the rigid hierarchy in the working environment can be regained with the help of the anonymity of a fast car.

Road safety experts claim that this competitive way of thinking must be replaced by partnership, pushiness and pigheadedness replaced by driving abilities.

As the mayor of Erlangen, Dietmaer Hahlweg, put it, people must "rediscover the social virtue of driving slowly" and force the motor industry to focus on this aspect in its advertising instead of on speed, sportiness and engine power.

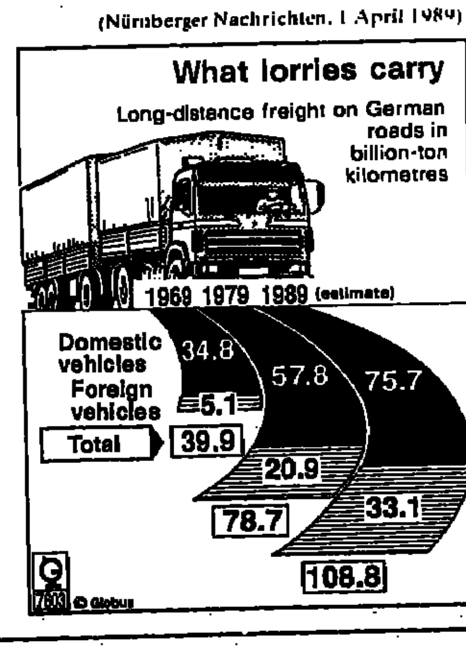
Experts also agree that this is a long and arduous process.

According to Hans-Günter Hilse the aggressive motorist is in accord with the existing system of norms.

He emphasised that conduct on the roads cannot "be better than conduct in our society."

Herbert Fuehr

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 1 April 1989)



Rising demand: it's lorries by the truckful

Lorry sales in Europe are at record levels. No one can say exactly why, but that isn't worrying the manufacturers.

Sales have been increasing over the past few years, but the 1988 figure — 188,000 new vehicles of over 11.6 tons laden weight — was an astounding nine per cent up on the record year of 1979.

Smaller lorries are also selling well. In Germany alone the production of commercial vehicles increased 12 per cent in 1988 to 120,249 units (laden weight of over 6 tons).

The highest rate of increase (a good 15 per cent) was in the very heavy vehicles category (over 16 tons).

No-one in the motor industry can really explain the surprising boom. Despite the full order books there is still a mood of caution.

The motor industry is well aware of the sudden ups and downs in this industry and recall the last serious setback in the mid-1980s.

The experts at Daimler, MAN or Iveco/Magirus feel that the forthcoming liberalisation of the European internal market could be one reason for the boom.

It is hoped that the open frontiers will lead to an increase of a good 40 per cent in freight volume by the year 2000.

The manufacturers of commercial vehicles and hauliers want to get a reasonable slice of this cake.

In many European Community countries the vehicle fleets of the haulage contractors are obsolete

Modern business strategies also contribute to the lorry sales boom. In line with the motto "Just in time" the entire motor industry today demands the reliable and punctual delivery of preliminary product components, more or less directly to the production lines.

This cuts high storage costs and reduces the expensive tying-up of capital.

High-cost warehousing is transferred to the roads, which leads to greater environmental problems.

The discussions on noise, lorry transportation with dangerous loads and vehicle exhaust problems have given lorries a bad image. They are regarded as air polluters.

The soot emissions ruin the image promoted by motor manufacturers that lorries are the most economical and the most flexible means of transportation.

Horst Biallo

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 4 April 1989)

■ HISTORIC MONUMENTS

A castle towers far above the dissent way below

For 10 years, controversy raged about the renovation of Saarbrücken Castle. Just as the plans to renovate Heidelberg Castle at the turn of the century were an occasion to re-think the basics of the new discipline of preservation of historical monuments, so the reconstruction of Saarbrücken Castle raised all the problems of our era with its concern with, and respect for, the institutions of the past.

The localised nature of this debate was probably due to the fact that Saarbrücken lies in a remote part of Germany near the border with France in the south-west.

But it did not lack vehemence. Citizens' initiatives were formed for and against the alternatives.

Disputes about the castle coloured local elections. Divisions broke out in one political party, the FDP, on the issue. People well-known in historical monument restoration circles feuded with one another.

It would not have taken much to rise a building again the like of which no-one had seen for 200 years.

Saarbrücken Castle, a creation of the baroque architect Friedrich Joachim



Stengel, was burnt down during the French Revolution not 50 years after it had been completed.

Goethe saw the residence of Prince William Henry of Nassau in all its glory, describing it as a bright point in a silvan, rocky landscape, small "but decorated out by the last princes."

This description might leave its mark, "a very delicate feeling of happiness," on the people of the Saar *today*, as it did on the poet Ludwig Harig, even if it is full of irony.

What the people recently celebrated with choirs, fireworks, masquerades, tricks and a reading from their poet Harig, is not the replica of this feudal building from the distant past.

It is well worth visiting the renovated building. It has not been put together from inadequate models, a more-or-less similar recapitulation, as is usual these days.

Buildings have been reconstructed, translocated, gutted from Hildesheim to the Marktplatz in Weimar, from Frankfurt's Römerberg to the Nicolai District in East Berlin, and their value in relation to the past sacrificed to aesthetic appearance.

Saarbrücken's determined, artistic approach to the past is significant.

The refusal to concentrate on a single phase of history is an acknowledgement of all the castle's phases; only the changes made during the Nazi period are ignored in the reconstruction of Saarbrücken Castle.

The citizens of Saarbrücken acquired the castle ruins after the decline of its baroque magnificence. A masterbuilder by the name of Adam Knipper erected an accommodation wing, destroying some of the original to some extent and knocking out a mezzanine floor. The central section was demolished.

After the Franco-German War the Saar industrial magnate Baron von Stumm had a guest house in the renaissance style built in this place. In the Nazi period it was again done up in the baroque style.

Most of the building was burnt out in 1944 and the renovation restored the castle to the condition it was in pre-war.

Then the south wing had to be closed because of the danger of its collapse.

Fundamental renovation was long overdue. An ill-treated conglomerate had developed by chance from the magnificent baroque castle with its opulent terrace gardens. But what is chance? History is chance.

Three courses of action were possible: restoring the castle to the state it had grown into by accident, renovation more or less in Stengel's style, or taking a modern course, designing afresh the central pavilion and renovating the remaining structure made up of the three wings.

This third variation grew from a suggestion made almost by accident in a 1977 competition, made by the Cologne architect Gottfried Böhm, who now has an international reputation.

This proposal was accepted in Saarbrücken. Reasonable people on the spot, such as the then civic building director Johann Peter Lüth, had a hand in this. Lüth is now responsible for the preservation of historical buildings in the Saar.

The proposal which Böhm developed with his architect colleagues Nikolaus Rosiny from Cologne, Klaus Krüger and Lutz Rieger from Saarbrücken, did not turn back the clock, did not stop it at the year 1793.

The process of history is visible. Foundations from the period of the Hohenststaufen emperors and the renaissance came to light.

The new arrangement of the architectural masses recalled Stengel's creation, which had pushed aside without much ado the remains of these previous constructions, and in the wings there were more orginal sections of the building than the experts had expected to find before work began.

The side wings still bore witness to Master Knipper's restoration in the Spartan time under Napoleon. The former villa of Baron von Stumm is concealed in Böhm's new central projection like a doll within a doll.

It is visible from the outside as a base on the garden side on which the new glass lintel rises.

Here, in Böhm's central pavilion, the present speaks clearly. The pellucidity of the section inserted goes back to the phases of the 19th century when a gap yawned between the Castle square and the Castle garden.

More centuries have been preserved in the building as it is presented now.

This renovation has not come off without contradictions and friction. The new encroachments exposed the old, they caused damage as well to the body of the building, which can be seen.

On the other hand, doesn't Stengel's gray-white paintwork, which now also covers the 19th century part of the building, mercifully cover the remaining wounds?

Affinities with the baroque are surprisingly quite natural for the taciturn Böhm. Symmetry, lancet arches and windows and solemnity are not taboo for him.

He has spread out an interplay of straight and spiral strairways, balconies, pedestals and bridges in the foyer of the central pavilion. He has covered the banqueting hall under the cupola with a painting, sprayed with varnish, which with relish deceives the eye. Böhm, who is 68, spent days on scaffolding.

Surprisingly the solemnity of the interior does not extend to the exterior. Böhm worked hard on this and produced one new version after another over the ten years the castle was being renovated.

Instead of the extensive facades, which was decided on for a while during the planning stage, the decision went to a slim, dual-pillared, disciplined frontage.

This gives a serious, narrow-shouldered effect, withdrawn, painted in dark metal-gray and roofed with lead and slate.

The facade system, leading up to the mansards, brings to mind scaffolding, suggesting something which is temporary.

It speaks for the sincerity of this building, that even in its contemporary setting it still shows that it was built for another age, now gone forever.

Böhm would not be the experienced practical man he is if he had not had his eye on the practicalities where this was needed.

The wings of the DM42.7 million building are new reached via the bridges and the staircases in the central pavilion. The civic association, the legal successor of the Saarbrücken administrative district, has its office here.

The regional museum is housed in the basement of the wing, the conference hall, the small theatre and the banqueting hall are to be found in the central part of the building.

The citizens have now really taken possession of the castle: the pyromaniacs of the Revolution only tried to destroy it.

In the Old Town in Saarbrücken, in the long-neglected St Johann district, it would now be appropriate to use this new thrust as a shot in the arm for renovation.

The square and the streets down to Ludwigskirche, a building by Stengel which has been preserved, have been widened and make no sense.

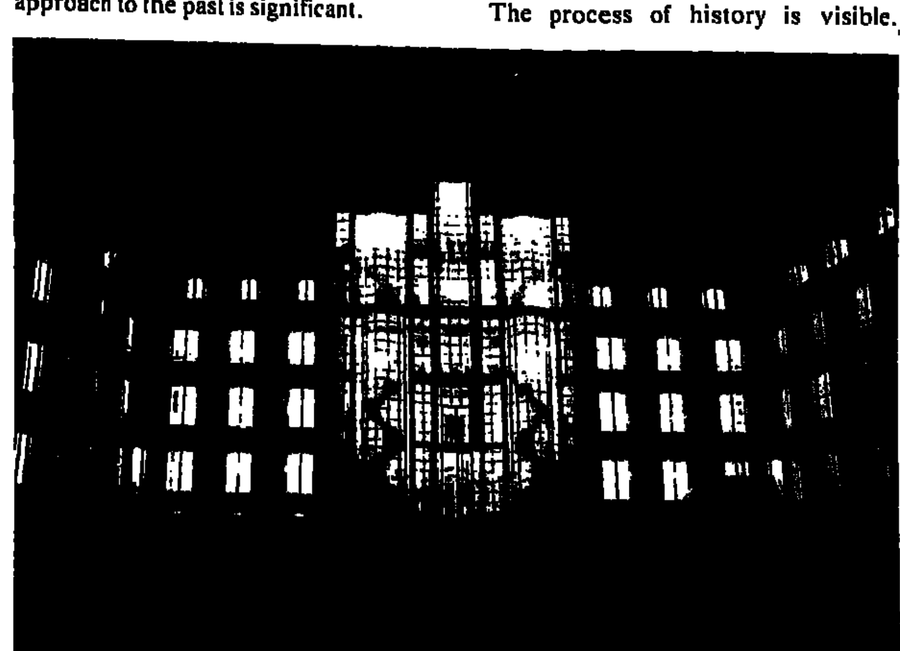
Still more serious is the strain caused by the motorway between Schlossfelsen and Saar. An overpass is being considered and was already a theme in the planning competition of 1977.

In countries far away from the Saar what Nietzsche called *"Altgier,"* a greed for the past, will gain ground, a delight to create the appearance of that which has been lost.

It is good to know that another way of dealing with history is possible.

Wolfgang Pehnt

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 11 April 1989)



Light touch to a weighty dispute. The renovated Saarbrücken Castle by night. (Photo: Werner E. Wunderlich)



Many opinions plus the pigeon factor

There were people in every nook and cranny of Saarbrücken Castle last ing shop. They were standing in crowds in the castle square and garden, craning their necks.

People were exchanging opinions about the completed building. "The central building section pleases me but I don't think it goes with the old part," said one old man.

Most of the young people were of a different opinion. "I think it has been well done and it is certainly better than pulling everything down and re-building," said a young woman.

"It fits in with our times," was the view of a young family, which meant that they could not understand all the fuss which there had been about the solution of the castle problem.

The father of the family said that it gave the castle a distinctive air, "there are any number of pure Baroque castles and Saarbrücken will now really stand out."

A woman said: "The best thing about it is the car-free castle square."

Two elderly women said that they were pleased with the building, "after their initial doubts." But one said she was not entirely happy about the ceiling pictures which architect Gottfried Böhm had included in his building.

A French couple said that they were very impressed by the view from the old Town Hall.

But there were still voices which rejected the building. One elderly man was not prepared to say anything more about it. "It's a lot of rubbish," he commented.

Two pensioners, who had met in the castle garden to gossip, feared that "it would not remain so beautiful for long." They watched the furious pigeons which, in their opinion, would soon see that the new splendour was messed up.

(Saarbrücken Zeitung, 10 April 1989)

■ VIDEO ART

Soviet exotica between the hustle and the bustle

It all began when people got the wind up about Big Brother telly, pricked him with needles, unmasked him as a dangerous monster or exposed him as someone to laugh at.

Wolf Vorstell, the master of the happening, tied up done-to-death television sets with barbed-wire and asked them to be eternally quiet.

South Korean Nam June Paik attacked in a more subtle way. He is an avantgard composer and put the gogglebox on end and reduced the picture to a vertical.

He placed another TV set heartlessly with its face to the floor, because it was called Rembrandt.

At the beginning of the 1960s, when such acts of lèse-majesté and blasphemy were committed in the art world the public reacted as was to be expected, disturbed and deeply offended.

Destructive video art, manifestly born prematurely, was scuttled without a trace. Now, a quarter of a century after its false start, media sculptors are rising Phoenix-like again from the ashes, glowing and full of self-confidence.

On the occasion of the 150th anniversary of Cologne's Kunstverein 45 media artists are displaying at four locations in Cologne the works of their fantasy, which have been kept under lock and key for so long.

This show, the world's largest, is looked upon by the Americans in their land of unlimited opportunities with some envy. Furthermore it is sponsored by a leisure electronics organisation, Sony Deutschland, which shows how this once so hated ugly duckling has blossomed out.

Monitors and cassette players are no longer covered in cement, chopped up and defiled. Sony Deutschland would never have chipped in with the largest financial contribution of two million deutschemarks, if these creative artists had not made a lasting, exultant peace with their previous arch-enemy.

Since the last *documenta* exhibition in Kassel with its electronic sensations with video electronics a breakthrough has been made: there is an intense love-affair going on between the former adversaries.

There is a fun-fair atmosphere in the darkened rooms of the Kunstverein, more so in the Dumont Kunsthalle, whose rooms are better suited to the artists' purposes.

This is an atmosphere of popular enthusiasm which the non-electrified avantgard can only dream about in their élitist hide-out.

Round every snow-white corner there is a surprise, because new effects are continuously wormed out of the gogglebox with the aid of cameras, mirrors, feedback and software, all well worked-out, which is magical for the viewer fed on a diet of First and Second Television Channel fare.

A swimmer doing the crawl goes along a distance fitted out with 25 monitors — here everyone would like to know how the Studio Azzurro trick functions.



Part of a phoenix act. Nam June Paik's *Beuys/Voice*, 1987.

On film Servas from Holland shows pursed lips like a whistling kettle, and a genuine feather, placed in front of a screen, really moves because an unseen pneumatic, synchronised gadget is working.

But there is no lack of intellectual content to these works of art, handled with rousing fun. The infringements television has made into our lives are pinpointed, or more commonly, the typical media change of appearance and reality.

Dan Graham's playful room produces even deeper ideas, in which the observer sees the past being acted out so surmounting the limits of time. Reflections and time-retarded live-cameras make this time-machine artwork possible.

Apart from the discovery of the creativity of the medium these video artists have been helped to their astonishing popularity by two other approaches.

First, they have almost given up pure video filming, which was shown in the gloomiest caves and called for an excess of patience from the public. Via live cameras the previously passive viewer increasingly takes part in an experimental event. With Jeffrey Shaw the viewer can control the origins and changes of a large-scale digital picture with a joy-stick. Second, these video artists have learned that their works are only of interest as items for a collection if they have a second conventional raison d'être as pieces of sculpture. Friederike Pezold's video pictures, glowing with feminism and self-confidence, are integrated into statues of archaic figures of motherhood. Barbara Steinman's works of grief for the nameless victims of the holocaust have the form of a post-modern memorial with a glassy pyramid on a lavishly-designed plinth.

Tony Oursler's *Constellation: Intermission*, 1988. (Photos: Catalogue)

The current trend to architecurtal and furniture sculpture works like a gift from heaven on video art. The cross between design and pure aesthetics gives an ideal basis for a revaluation of video works.

Museums, to the delight of this section of art, have quickly stepped in — with the exception of German museum directors, who fear their collections will be harmed by the sound and the lights.

Video sculptures have developed into works that require plenty of space, even to filling up whole rooms.

One can see a complete Japanese garden in which miniature cliffs are replaced by semi-hidden television screens with changing pictures of nature.

In Antonio Muntada's Conference Hall there are 13 colossal portraits of religious and political leaders of the world. Anyone who takes a seat there is appropriately impressed, or as in Cologne amused, by miniature monitors in

RHEINISCHER MERKUR

the mouths of these leaders pouring out their speeches in sound and picture.

No limits were set for the extravagance of the works. It is only possible to get out of Bucky Schwartz's labyrinth if one literally follows the inalienable television as a means of orientation.

Elsewhere televisions on building constructions conjure up the endangered cycle of nature with provocative images.

In Marcel Odenbach's work tramping soldiers' boots shatter costly porcelain.

Nam June Paik demonstrates the pure power of the medium with a gigantic pyramid of monitor screens.

The video boom has advanced into the Gothic precinct's of St Peter's Church. Below the font by Rubens, Ulrike Rosenbach's poetic drowned "Orphelia" is revived by a blood-transfusion.

A Christ on the cross springs into the era of the media on four screens.

The media hustle and bustle which has broken out over video art is too much for Klaus vom Bruch. On a screen left to itself he displays pictures which are probably still cliché and exotic — that is of a Soviet television programme picked up by a satellite dish.

Wolf Schön

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 31 March 1989)

Continued from page 6

management techniques are not applied. Hospital personnel will eventually have to bear responsibilities.

If a nursing sister wants to become head of a ward, she is expected to take courses. She has to give up her job generally to be able to take part in the seminars which can last up to three years.

If she does not get support from the labour office or her employers, she has to pay the course fees herself and look after herself while she is studying.

The public services union, ÖTV, calculates that the total cost for training would be DM16,000.

Several hospitals have drawn their own conclusions from this. According to strict management principles the city hospital in Kassel, for instance, has made a survey of the actual situation in wards.

It was discovered that there were failings in the way the work was organised. These were removed.

The city hospital has not only reorganised the work but personnel have been drawn closer into the work method as a whole, so that know-how does not seep away in some departments.

The Kassel concept also includes further education during working hours for personnel — paid by the hospital in all cases.

The Dr Horst Schmidt Clinic in Wiesbaden has also introduced new management methods, coupled to efforts to improve staff qualifications. According to the director of nursing, Marie-luise Müller, this has been successful.

The number of qualified nursing sisters and orderlies is to be increased and the semi-trained nursing staff are to be given more training. This further training will be paid for by the clinic.

Despite the increase in the number of patients and the continued reduction in the time patients spend in hospital, fluctuations among the personnel and losses through sickness of time which counts towards pension although no payments are made, are surprisingly limited.

Claus Peter Müller

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 8 April 1989)

■ ANIMALS

Crippling genetic faults 'being bred into dogs'

A tiny terrier died when a slipper thrown at it caused its skull to burst like a raw egg. The reason: an in-bred structural defect. In this article for *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, Arndt Hellmann and Ilse Weiss looks at links between breeding and dog diseases and speak to some authorities in the field.

Some dog breeders seem to regard dogs as no more than fashion accessories. The welfare of the animal appears to play little role in their work.

Wilhelm Wegner from the Hanover Veterinary College took a closer look at the reputedly robust dachshund.

He discovered that between the ages of four and six there were numerous cases of what is called dachshund lameness.

Wegner's outspoken manner when it comes to openly talking about the causes of such diseases has, in his own words, turned him into "Germany's best-hated dog expert."

Dachshund lameness is a disease which causes a loss of the animal's mobility due to a contraction of the spinal cord and a calcification of the intervertebral disks.

It can be frequently observed among very small (chondrodystrophic) breeds (chondros = cartilage, dystrophy = malnutrition).

The breeding of these extremely small breeds causes a premature ossification of the cartilaginous growth zone (epiphyseneal joint) resulting from a lack of nutrition.

This prevents growth; the long bones and in many cases the facial bones too remain comparatively small.

Apart from the dachshund, pekinese, bassets, spaniels and French bulldogs also suffer from this breeding variant.

Ottwart Geisel from the Institute for Animal Pathology at the University of Munich sees a direct link with the way the dogs are reared.

He claims that slippery floors and climbing stairs can increase the risk of dogs getting this disease.

There is an obvious conflict between the breeders and the scientists. Although officials of dog clubs do not dispute the fashionable character of many breeds they vehemently deny any link between breeding and animal diseases.

Breeding excesses do not only relate to the small representatives of the more than 500 breeds of dog.

The other extreme is macrosomia (gigantism).

The breeding rules for the Irish wolfhound stipulates a shoulder height of at least 79 centimetres for the male. Only recently, a height of one metre was recorded.

Such ill-proportioned animals often find it difficult to move their massive bodies.

Vets primarily diagnose hip joint dysplasia (HD) among Saint Bernards, Collies, Great Danes, Rottweilers and German Alsatians. The list of breeds which suffer from HD, however, is a lot longer.

The Institute for Animal Breeding and Animal Hygiene at the University of Munich discovered in 1985 that the deformation of the hip joint (HD) "is characterised by flattened condyles of the femur and a flattening of the glenoid cavity of the hip joint."

This means that the bones in the hip no longer fit together. This leads to a "limited or complete inability of use." The clinical diagnosis is: lameness.

Scientists agree that a dog's hip joint dysplasia disposition is fixed in the genetic make-up or not.

"It has been undisputed for a long time now," said Ottwart Geisel, "that we are dealing with a genetic defect."

The American scientists Priester and Mulvihill already discovered that the risk of HD hereditability was 50 times greater in the case of large and oversized dogs.

It is hoped that radiological tests will prevent dogs suffering from HD from being used for breeding purposes.

In a comparison between the Hovawart and boxer races the Munich researchers were able to prove that 40 per of the one-year-old Hovawart offspring and 70 per cent of the boxer offspring showed radiological HD symptoms.

According to Ottwart Geisel there are still no generally acknowledged findings on the development and genetic basis of HD.

One of the theories according to which an interaction of several genes (polygenes) causes hip joint dysplasia is backed by the findings of the Munich research team.

In the opinion of the head of the analyses, Horst Kräusslich, however, the so-called kennel effect has the greatest influence on the development of HD.

This is a reference to the breeding of related animals, the consequence of the selection of dogs suitable for breeding, the feeding and rearing of the bitches, and the breeding and rearing of the pups.

The conditions under which dog breeding is carried out are not always acceptable. In some cases they violate the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals laws.

An investigation of the "dog factories" in Lower Bavaria confirmed this claim.

Near Deggendorf, for example, one breeder keeps over 40 bitches from various small breeds.

They are kept in 25 dark cages with a space of only three square metres each. In some of the boxes there are up to four bitches and males.

This leads to wild biting by the dogs. The injuries caused are often discovered much later and become inflamed.

The Prevention of Cruelty Against Animals laws require that the dog owner or breeder feeds, cares for and keeps the animal in accordance with its breed and its needs.

Under German law, however, animals are regarded as objects, and can be impounded just like a television set.

The anti-cruelty campaigners also support the introduction of a law to control the "breeding and keeping of animals in homes" as an appropriate measure.

The German Association for the Prevention of Cruelty Against Animals has also handed in a proposal to the Bundestag for a law redefining an animal as a fellow creature rather than an object.

So far, however, these initiatives to limit deliberate or accidental misbreeding have remained ineffective.

Section 11b of the Prevention of Cruelty Against Animals Act prohibits the breeding of vertebrates if the breeder has reason to expect that parts of the animal's body or organs will be missing or unsuitable for the normal use of that breed due to genetic defects and if this could cause pain, suffering or damage.

Dogs, once helpers, protectors and fighters in the interests of people in general, are often required to suit the limited interests of the breeder.

The breeding standards of many dog clubs have turned dogs into a fashion creation instead of a creature.

The Dalmatian, for example, owes its spotted coat to the Merle factor.

This genetic disposition can also be associated with blindness and deafness. The Yugoslavian creators know this.

The Dalmatian's country of origin has the right to change the corresponding breeding standards.

This is a stipulation laid down by the international umbrella organisation of dog breeders, the Fédération Cynologique Internationale (F.C.I.).

Hans Wiblishäuser, breeding judge and chairman of the Bavarian regional group of the Association of German Doggery (VDH), feels that the reason for the increase in defects is the rigid insistence on accepted breeding standards.

In his opinion, pekinese dogs and Chihuahuas "are being bred in a direction which should not be encouraged."

With a weight of less than one kilogram the Mexican Chihuahua is the smallest dog in the world.

Because of its dwarfish size the suture between the bones of the skull (fontanelle) at the cerebral skull has only a weak link or is not linked at all.

Wegner described what this means for all very small breeds of dogs: "One super-mini-Yorkshire terrier dropped down dead after someone had thrown a slipper at it because the frequently perforated top of its skull burst like a raw egg."

In the case of the chihuahua, said Ekkehart Wiesner from the University



of Berlin, the "hole in the head is due to dwarfism" and that there can be various reasons for this.

Not all diseases, however, are clearly attributable to genetic defects. Wiesner differentiates between hereditary diseases, genetic environmental diseases and genetic deficiencies (health disorders). The three are often interlinked.

What, therefore, can be classed as a deformation? In dog breeding everything the breeder wants would appear to be allowed.

The establishment of breeding standards sets the norm: whereas short-leggedness is viewed as normal in the case of the dachshund and is definitely desired this attribute ranks as an unacceptable abnormity in the case of the German Alsatian.

The dog market is governed by the forces of supply and demand.

Cross-breeding or variations are good for business.

In the magazine *Hundejournal*, the magazine of the European Canine Sports Union, we find the following:

"The pekinese dog would not have its snub-nosed face without the deformation of its skull and jaw.

"Unlike the 'dog as an animal of prey' is could not hunt prey like its ancestors or obtain food. The human beings who have bred the dog this way relieve it of this task."

One wonders whether the term "thoroughbred" is at all apt.

Arndt Hellmann/Ilse Weiss

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 28 March 1989)

The puppy and the postman: a mutual sniff

Postmen and women should avoid ... ing visual contact with dogs as they ... liver mail, according to advice from ... dog organisation. Nor should they ... nervously, make threatening gestures ... or depart rapidly. Also recommended ... when puppies are born, the local ... person should be invited round ... mutual sniff so the basis for a long ... tionship can be made. This report, com... piled by the German newsagency, ... appeared in the *Bremer Nachrichten*.

Good news for postmen. Experts ... trying to find ways of preventing postmen and women from being ... tacked by vicious dogs.

More than 3,000 postmen are bi... every year in Germany. With the help ... its pilot project *Alex — gut Freund der Post* (Alex — a good friend of the Post Office) the Southwest-German Canine Sports Association hopes to defuse the tense relationship.

There are ways of understanding ... predicting a dog's reaction in certai... tuations.

But many postmen — and a lot of ... owners as well — often have no ... how to deal with dogs.

Now the Canine Association is ... ing courses to help. Safety experts fr... the main post offices of the Stuttg... postal district will be given the oppor... tunity to familiarise themselves with ... behaviour and then able to pass on ... knowledge to the postmen.

At the same time dog owners will ... ceive recommendations on how the... can protect postmen against possible ... tacks by their dogs.

The Association has drawn up ... training concept. It begins by analysi... the actual act of delivering the mai... from differing stages of delivering th... mail: "Postman approaches the letter... box", "Letter-box rattles", "Postman moves off fast", etc.

The postmen are told how all the... individual acts are viewed by the dog.

The dog, for example, regards the ... rival of the postman as an intrusion ... his fast departure as fleeing.

The delivery of mail by the postman triggers natural key stimuli on the part of the dog, which then tries to defend ... territory.

To try and make sure that the dog aggressions do not occur in the first place the experts have compiled a list ... tips designed to decisively lower the ... oupational hazard facing many ... men.

Threatening gestures, visual contact with the dog, fast movement ... departure and nervous reactions should be avoided.

The letter box should be installed ... such a way that the dog cannot reach it.

Both postmen and dog owners are called upon to pay more attention to the dog's body language.

The position of the head, ears ... tail, for example, give a clear indica... of the dog's mood: indifference, thr... ening, aggressive or afraid.

The postmen should respond ac... dingly.

In cases where all efforts are ... avail postmen are advised to get ... phylactic tetanus injection. The ex... hope that a kind of friendly meeting ...

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■ ACADEME

A firmament for scientific shooting (and other) stars

Events in the *Kavaliershaus* at Nymphenburg Castle in Munich are just as exclusive as the surroundings.

Access to the yellow house with its beautiful garden is only by invitation.

The ritual is reminiscent of British custom. On sunny summer days it is easy to imagine that this is Oxford: a porter dressed in black opens the door, a personal welcome, spacious function rooms, a green lawn on which drinks are served, a sumptuous buffet prepared by the housekeeper and her assistants between the lectures.

The lectures given are also up to Oxford standard.

The institution is the Carl Friedrich von Siemens Foundation in Munich, which was set up in 1960 on the initiative of Ernst von Siemens and named after his father, one of the sons of the firm's founder. Its aim is to foster the sciences.

It is not the goal itself which makes this institution unique in Germany, but the way in which it tries to achieve this task with a small budget of roughly DM1m a year (including the costs of maintaining the house and its small staff).

It does this above all by means of invitations to scientific lectures intended for a qualified audience.

It is hardly surprising, therefore, that the crème de la crème of Munich universities, colleges and institutes can be seen there.

The Siemens Foundation is not a forum for the popular communication of scientific knowledge.

The content of the lectures and the subsequent discussions often relates to the latest discoveries, subject matter which in many cases has not yet been published.

When the neurobiologist Eric R. Kandel from the American Colombia University lectured on his views on the subject of "Cellular and Molecular Biological Approach to Learning" in the foundation building in October last year the students, lecturers and members of the special research department for Neurophysiology and Psychobiology at the University of Munich heard these up to that time unpublished insights for the first time.

The university itself would not have been able to finance the travel costs of the American professor and pay his fee, which is calculated at the Siemens Foundation in such a way as to present a definite incentive.

Eminent authorities in their respective fields have lectured there — Hans-Georg Gadamer, Ernst Gombrich, Bruno Bettelheim and Manfred Eigen, to name just a few of the guests during recent years.

Yet also young and not so well-known scientists come along as well as the shooting stars of the scientific community.

Christopher Bell from Boston, for example, a young scientist who was unknown in Germany before his lecture, talked on Xenophon's political philosophy.

Allan Bloom, professor of political philosophy in Chicago, was invited to lecture before his book *The Closing of the American Mind* became a bestseller in 1987.

The appearance of Walter Schmidt, the director of the Central Institute of History at the Academy of Sciences in East Berlin, in summer 1986 was a sensation. Schmidt had never before spoken at such a forum in the Federal Republic of Germany.

The topic of his lecture, in which he dealt with the new and differentiated approach to national history in East Germany, was: "The GDR and German History."

The discussion which followed was chaired by Christian Meier, at that time chairman of the Association of German Historians.

One of the "by-products" of this "intra-German historians' summit" was the visit to lecture in Munich by the author Helmut H. Schulz from the GDR.

A special series of lectures entitled "The Challenge of Evolutionary Biology" also attracted attention.

Eight guest speakers were invited, half of them with English as a native language.

They tried to "illustrate the productiveness of the perspectives opened up by the Darwinian revolution for human sciences and philosophy."

The series of lectures on "The Diagnosis of Modernity", in which historians, sociologists, politologists, philosophers and literature experts discussed the era of post-modernity, was also very popular.

The lectures of both series have been published as paperbacks.

The next topic for these special lectures this summer, which are held in short intervals, is "The World of the City".

The main subjects are currently biology, neurophysiology and political philosophy. But the fine arts and the ancient world are by no means neglected.

Together with the Society for Radiation and Environmental Research environmental policy evenings have been organised during which politicians and scientists cross swords.

In January it was the moral philosopher Robert Spaemann, who challenged Bonn's Minister of the Environment, Nature Preservation and Reactor Safety, Klaus Töpfer, to a discussion on "The Social Justifiability of Technological Risks."

Linguistics and literary studies are hardly represented. The lecture by the Anglicist Ernst Leisi from Zurich on "Natural Sciences in Shakespeare" in May last year, therefore, was a special occasion.

The lecture dealt with the often completely medieval or ancient ideas on procreation and heredity, blood circulation and the heart, the stars and astrology in Shakespeare's plays and the importance of understanding their significance to comprehend the author's metaphorical language.

This lecture was published, an honour only bestowed upon one or two speakers a year.

The man with sole responsibility for organising the foundation's programmes is the 35-year-old foundation secretary Heinrich Meier.

In his home town of Freiburg (im Breisgau), where he studied Philosophy, Political Sciences and Sociology, he received his doctorate in an unusual way: on the merit of an already published edition of a book.

The edition of the *Discours sur l'Inégalité* by Rousseau, which Meier edited, annotated and brilliantly translated, was also highly acclaimed internationally.

In his second book Meier took a closer look at the theory of state expert Carl Schmitt and Leo Strauss, a little known philosopher closely associated with Edmund Husserl and Martin Heidegger, who exerted a major influence on political philosophy in North America.

Under Meier's patronage, who took over from Armin Mohler in 1985, there has been a substantial increase in English-language lectures from the field of social sciences.

For many of the American speakers Meier invited to Munich — Seth Bernadete (New York), Thomas Prangle (Toronto), Joseph Cropsey (Chicago) — this was a German debut.

Meier is not a scientific manager, but an experienced researcher in his specialist field of political philosophy.

Of course, he is open to suggestions from other sources, for example, from the managing committee of the Siemens Foundation — its chairman is the mathematician Heinz Gumin — or the Bavarian Academy of Sciences, with which Meier has jointly organised a number of lectures.

He always tried to find out beforehand whether a speaker is able to talk to an audience of 150 guests.

Heinrich Meier's invitations to lecture are rarely turned down. One of the reasons is his personal ability to explain why he wants a certain speaker at a certain time. And he can guarantee the guest speakers a qualified discussion.

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This applies irrespective of whether the physician Erwin Hahn from Berkeley talks about the memory of atoms, the mathematician Benoit B. Mandelbrot from Harvard lectures on geometric computer ornaments ("Fractals as a Work of Art") or the former director of the Bremen Kunsthalle, Günter Busch, discusses the works of Max Liebermann.

One of the particular incentives is the fact that discussions move beyond the barriers of individual disciplines.

Furthermore, each speaker is introduced by a generally well-known scholar from their own field of research.

The audience is — literally — handpicked. Before each lecture Meier flicks through his file index, which contains 1,800 names and the special fields of interest of the persons concerned.

This "hard core" of guests receives the lecture programme published on a quarterly basis, which outlines each topic.

In accordance with the university register the experts on a certain subject are sent a special invitation.

Information on the special lecture series can be found on the noticeboards of university institutes "from Kiel to Salzburg."

Persons interested in attending the lecture can get in touch by postcard.

Roughly 90 guests came along from outside of Munich for each of the lectures on evolutionary biology.

This enables students to keep abreast of some of the latest developments.

Each invited person can bring along a guest of his/her choice. The house in

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■ DIVERSIONS

Sport, art and travel: a great way to die

As a girl lay in a coma in a Hamburg hospital, her friends sprayed the words: "For the girl, who slipped up" (sic), on the side of an S-Bahn (city commuter rail system) carriage. She had fallen from a moving train.

At the same time, the Bundesbahn (national railway system) management in Hamburg invited people to take part in a "Spray Happening" as a way of discovering young artistic talent. Eighteen turned up.

Hamburg, Munich and Dortmund are strongholds of this so-called "hip-hop" movement, the two elements of which are "surfing" and "spraying".

This new youth cult is fraught with danger and difficult for adults to peer into. One element is spraying brilliantly coloured cartoon scenes on trains and station walls; the other is a spectacular refinement.

The sprayer climbs out of a fast-moving train, suspends him- or herself outside, and paints on a "tag" (English word used. In this case, it means signature).

But there is another, and still more spectacular refinement to surfing: practitioners climb hand over hand on to the roof of the careering carriage before leaving an example of their handiwork behind.

A year ago, a 15-year-old youth in Hamburg was ripped from the carriage

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by a blast of air turbulence at speed, fell on to the line and broke his neck on a concrete sleeper.

The 14-year-old girl in the Hamburg hospital, whose injuries were caused by crashing into a pylon, was injured just a week after her 17-year-old friend was badly injured in a fall from a train.

Paintings on trains first appeared about three years ago. Since, the mania has spread throughout Europe, especially in big cities with their extensive commuter rail systems.

Bodo Claussen heads a special Bundesbahn (national railway system) commission investigating railway graffiti in Hamburg. He says: "At the beginning, we hoped that it would be a short-lived phenomenon." But it was not to be. More and more carriages and walls were sprayed and the number of accidents increased.

Recently, railway policemen (the railways have their own police on duty at stations) in Hamburg and colleagues from other parts of Germany got a closer insight into the workings of the hip-hop scene.

A search of houses in several cities realised thousands of "kamikaze photos", snapshots showing sprayers in action. The artists are like the surfers. They are not loners and need the applause and confirmation of their group.

Claussen produced a photograph showing a young sprayer taken by a friend. The sprayer was snapped hanging on the outside of a carriage and spraying on his autograph.

Hamburg railway police observe other young people who prefer to limit their painting to stationary trains, carriages parked at night in the depot for example, with a mixture of anger and understanding.

Anger because of the cost of removing the paint; and understanding because, in the words of Herr Claussen, 33: Here we have young people, "products of our society who suffer, on the one side, from an excessive need for excitement provoked by the media; and, on the other, from the humdrum nature of real life."

He has spoken at length to many young people who have been arrested and interviewed. The cops-and-robbers relationship has, through the officers' skilful psychological approach, been somewhat improved.

In his office in the Hamburg Hauptbahnhof, a circular postcard from Munich is pinned to a board. It is scribbled all over and its mood is almost warm: "Hullo, writer-killer. We've left our tags everywhere — greetings from Bodi the ripper."

The contents of other letters and cards he has received seem clearly to show sprayers basically desire attention; they need people, for example the railway police, to talk to. Claussen says the graffiti artists come from all social backgrounds "from good families, from families living in barracks."

A typical example is 16-year-old Klaus who called himself "Sector" after a comic-strip character. He attends Realschule (intermediate school as preparation for a vocational school) and comes from a decent family. His parents had no idea, until the day he was caught, that he secretly sprayed trains.

"Winning a reputation," is what Claussen says Klaus wants; anything to drag himself out of the grey anonymity that he sees around him.

"Sector" hopes, like many others, that one day his painting, which he considers to be art, will earn him money and make him famous.

In the hip-hop scene, two factors form a fatal mixture: the wish for popularity (fostered through examples in films and on television) and the need, drawn from the Press, to demonstrate heroic courage by displaying physical risk in line with the philosophy that today success can only be achieved by people who use extraordinary methods to attract attention to themselves.

Not for nothing are trains and station walls favoured. Each day, hundreds of thousands of passengers carried on the system are a captive audience to the "pieces" as the drawings are known in the jargon (English word again has been taken over).

That is why the painting is confined to the S-Bahn (which travels above the ground) and the Hamburg underground, which is largely confined to tunnels, has more or less been spared.

The origin of the phenomena of spraying and surfing is, like other youth phenomena from Elvis Presley imitators to the hippies, in the United States. The example comes first of all from American music films in which mainly black youths express their hopelessness through their graffiti.

Claussen says that, as a rule, there is less poverty in this country. Here, the spur was more a case of "bourgeois boredom", he thinks. The hip-hop phenomena fluctuated between "trivial art and criminality." Lawyers and jud[illegible] are involved because painting a tra[illegible] classes as damage to property (so[illegible] times, sprayers even paint entire tr[illegible] a fact which is registered proudly by [illegible] sprayer as "whole train" (English [illegible] again used)).

It costs 36,000 marks to clean [illegible] entire train. If a sprayer is caught, he [illegible] she or the parents have to pay. Debt[illegible] tablished through civil court action [illegible] applicable for 30 years, so some spr[illegible] ers whose parents don't have the m[illegible] can expect to have their future earn[illegible] sequestered.

It is difficult to estimate just [illegible] many railway graffiti artists there [illegible] Germany. In Hamburg, there [illegible] thought to be about 200 between [illegible] ages of 15 and 22.

The names they use and the m[illegible] they adopt come almost entirely fr[illegible] comics. Claussen: "Most believe in [illegible] in their artistic ability but they prod[illegible] in most cases only rubbish."

He keeps in his office drawers [illegible] sands of photographs of graffiti. S[illegible] times, someone with talent turns [illegible] One, from Munich, was called "L[illegible] mit", who now works legally and earn[illegible] money by painting such things as disco[illegible] theque walls or truck tarpaulins w[illegible] dark impressions drawn from famo[illegible] comic style.

Claussen says the work of the s[illegible] commission has almost a social th[illegible] eutic quality to it. Understanding [illegible] the key to the psychology of the spr[illegible] That is why the Hamburg railway p[illegible] sometimes act as an art agency. If s[illegible] one comes and asks where they can [illegible] their garage painted in an original [illegible] they are referred to Claussen.

Surfing is another question becau[illegible] is a threat to life and limb. It is a m[illegible] of testing courage within the gro[illegible] risk taken out of tedium.

Most surfers can barely describe t[illegible] motive. One said: "It is simply a cr[illegible] feeling."

Thomas Vinsor Wolgas[illegible]

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Ze[illegible] für Deutschland, 8 April 19[illegible])

Switching on the computer and switching off the stress

It seems that relaxation and consciousness-training through yoga, meditation or autogenous training is out: brain training using a computer is in.

"Mind machines" have become the latest thing in the new-age scene. They are credited with being able to do lots of things, from achieving a deeper level of relaxation to increasing intelligence.

Externally, they resemble a combination of a Walkman and a hi-fi amplifier. In Berlin, everyone now has the chance to samples the wonders of the equipment, which was originally from America.

A newly opened studio in Berlin is, says the manager, 33-year-old Tom Sperlich, the "first German fitness studio for psycho-relaxation" which, using "mind machines," can help clients to switch-off emotionally.

His partner is Paul Stoiber, 29. Through word of mouth, almost 300 people from all social strata have heard about the studio and have turned up to get plugged in and switched off. They are stretched out on a soft mattresses for about 40 minutes per session and connected to the electronic stress killer.

There are three machines which work along the same principles. They manufacture electronic light and sound impulses in adjustable doses.

Customers are fitted with eye masks and headphones through which are transmitted sounds and lights. They are treated to a performance of coloured flashes and staccato arrangements of sound patterns which are something like the combination of a laser display at a disco and the blinking, swirling, tinkling whirligig of a one-armed bandit. External influences are shut out.

So what do the users think? An actor said there had been an instant reduction in stress. A doctor spoke of "cerebral masturbation". But the most merely confirmed that what had happened was just what was promised: intensified relaxation.

The way it operates is still not entirely clear. Both operators and manufacturers refer to research results from the 1950s where the activities of the brainwaves were found to be influenced through visual and acoustic [illegible]mulation.

The light and sound frequencies [illegible] the mind machine are set so that [illegible] brain cells adjust to the wave length[illegible] which are calibrated to correspo[illegible] with the various human states of co[illegible]sciousness.

Slowly, European scientists are be[illegible]ginning to take an interest in the ma[illegible]chines. In January, Sperlich took [illegible] a machine to the neurology department [illegible] of a Viennese hospital to be studied.

The machine is not nec[illegible] [illegible]able for everyone. One Berliner who [illegible] admitted he had latent epilepsy, star[illegible]ed having uncontrollable convulsions [illegible] until Sperlich took off the mask.

Sperlich said: "That was not an is[illegible]lated case, but in principle, it's a harm[illegible]less enough procedure."

A doctor had confirmed to him [illegible] the most serious side effects to be [illegible]pected were facial contractions [illegible] nausea. A greater danger was [illegible] clients would relax so much that, after[illegible]wards, they would run under a pass[illegible] car.

In any case, Sperlich gets custom[illegible] to sign a waiver saying they are tak[illegible] the treatment at their own risk.

(Lübecker Nachrichten, 6 April [illegible])

A mutual sniff

Continued from page 12

ween the dog and the postman will lead to long-term success.

When a new puppy arrives in a household the dog owners should inform the Post Office and make a "date" with the postman so that the dog becomes familiar with the postal delivery as a "joyful and formative crucial experience."

This meeting provides an opportunity for a little chat and a "mutual sniff" between the postman and the pups and can lay the foundation stone for a lifelong friendly relationship.

If all this theory works out in practice a drastic decline in the number of attacks on postmen can be expected in future.

dpa

(Bremer Nachrichten, 5 April 1989)

■ HORIZONS

Drawing some lessons about the state of the family



The 14th International Family Congress was intentionally quite unlike any other congress in the Federal Republic.

This was the first time this congress has been mounted in the Federal Republic, and was, like its predecessors, privately organised.

Every day the 3,500 visitors at Bonn's Beethovenhall were greeted with an atmosphere of confidence, which could not be concealed from the attentive and critical observer.

The initiators did not intend it to be just a wailing congress, complaining about how bad things were for those who decided to have a family, and how irresponsible it could be to bring children into the world today.

The congress intended to look at the positive side of things; the atmosphere in Bonn was creative rather than destructive.

Countess Gabriele Plettenberg was president of the congres organisation. Her concept was astonishingly simple, one is inclined to say un-German as well.

Without wanting to ignore reports about the crisis in the family, her idea was to demonstrate what there was in favour of the family, why it was worthwhile to speak out *for* marriage and the family.

This was particularly important because at the present one in three marriages in the Federal Republic ends up in divorce, and 1.3 million children of divorced parents have to grow up without being members of a family in the fullest meaning of that term.

Countess Plettenberg said that the congress set out to discuss why the majority of marriages held together. She said: "This did not mean announcing a world intact, but giving encouragement."

This optimism, unusual for Bonn but realistic, might have been the source of the criticism that the congress reduced the *realities*, fading out as it were the normal cases, whatever they are.

To judge from appearances the audience was cheerful and, if you will, well off. There were no people there to whom life had been cruel, people who did not have money.

There was in fact a lack of sentimentality in all generations, which is made continuously more obvious in our society, particularly among politicians, and has made the wrinkled forehead in a well-cared-for community into the trade mark of edgy cultural pessimism.

Possibly this tranquil cheerfulness, which nevertheless did not ignore the problems and needs of marriage and the family, frightened off the politicians, who did not make an appearance in the Beethovenhalle.

They were distinguished by their absence — with a few exceptions — apart from keeping their eye on the fact that a tenth of the total costs of DM1.5 million were picked up by the Family Affairs Ministry.

The proof that the congress was independent of politics and political parties could not dispel the suspicion that someone had backed out, possibly out of concern that it would be a recitation of complaints against government policies, obviously unfounded.

The congress dealt with fundamentals, as was manifest by its slogan, "Family is the future."

That obviously should be reflected in politics. The Bonn government is making the first steps in this direction, but "family policies" are always a bone of contention in cabinet needing coalition agreement.

An assessment of the situation shows paradoxes. On the one hand the family is more economically independent than it has ever been.

On the other hand an affluent society, such as that of the Federal Republic, is not in a position to give recognition to its most important unit, way beyod the purely financial, an importance which is at least as great as success at work.

Only laboriously is the realisation spread, for example, that a housewife and a mother is not employed in the job sense, but is involved in work which is important for society.

The signal the Bonn government gave three years ago with child allowance and parental leave seemed to have inadequate force to impinge on West German society, even through a few weeks ago there was a flare up of demands for improvements in these benefits.

It remains to be seen if the influence of the Bonn congress was strong enough to have some effect on the awareness of the family.

The organisers would be happy if in the future the family were discussed in a different manner to what it is now.

The speeches at the opening of the congress made by Chancellor Helmut Kohl and President Richard von Weizsäcker were listened to by families, married couples, men, women, adolescents and children with scepticism.

President von Weizsäcker combined the basic ideas of the organisation in his speech. He said: "Our pluralistic society is based on intact family life; in today's world the family must be safegarded and the means must be available to safeguard it. This is why the family does have a future."

One of the conclusions Renate Köcher from the Allensbach Public Opinion Research Institute came to in her speech was that the family itself could so change this future that various forms of this fundamental social institution could exist side by side.

Swift changes in society, characterised by technicological advance requiring more flexibility, will lead in any case to the fact that traditional family forms will be repressed.

There are more than enough congresses taking place in the Federal Republic and they have to live with the danger that after they are over they are forgotten. The Family Congress in Bonn is also threatened with this.

Its atmosphere of confidence, the naturalness with which all generations spoke about Christian ideas of marriage, family and the rules of conception, creating a forum for the exchange of ideas, all this deserved that the message from this event should find an echo in the consciousness of German society: family is the future.

The seminar papers reflected the international tone and quality of the congress; from Reagan adviser Carl Anderson, Zangh De-Wei from China, Jerome Lejeune from France and Susan Stanford from Canada to Mother Teresa from India.

The contributions are available from the congress office which willl remain open in Bonn for a few months. But more important than these was the frankness of the verdict happiness is more important than material riches.

Jeanne Hersch from Switzerland defined the family in this manner: "It is an idea, a theory and not something sociological to do with living."

She added that it was also not a means of stabilising society "or for the reproduction of a belief. It is not eating together, a private meal, and sleeping together in mutual security. Family is all of that and a lot more besides. It is perhaps life and full of contradictions."

Despite the anxieties and needs, the Bonn congress reflected a few of these aspects contrary to expectations, and gave politics an important shot in the arm as to how one of the most important aspects of the future can be discussed good-humouredly.

Martin Lohmann

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 7 April 1989)

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which the lectures are given and its rooms emphasise the atmosphere of exclusivity.

The lecture hall has a capacity of 170 people; it is also possible to fit up loudspeakers to hear the lecture in a clubroom and even in the garden.

The Siemens Foundations invites guests to come along to at most 25 lectures a year.

The house is also used for other scientific gatherings, between ninety and one hundred times a year, and the Foundation provides the rooms and the catering.

Max Planck institutes, academies, faculties and foundations take advantage of this offer.

All in all, between eight and nine thousand people visit the *Kavaliershaus* every year.

For Munich this house, which enables a social gathering combined with the presentation of scientific discoveries, is a major attraction.

In an age when scientific intercourse often assumes business-like features this is a place where academic dialogue in its original sense is still possible.

Renate Schostack

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 4 April 1989)

On the subject of affirmations of rational presentations . . .

"Tell me who you go about with and I will tell you who you are." Earlier generations of parents have many times sent their children out into life with this saying.

The truth of this saying seems to hold true for life today. For together with the care the Germans lavish on the decoration of their homes they pay a great deal of attention to their choice of friends and acquaintances.

This emerged from an inquiry by the Allensbach Public Opinion Institute into what sectors in life were most important to people in this country for them to develop their own image of themselves.

The survey question asked: "There are for all of us areas which have a quite personal character for us, which represent our own style. To what do you give importance for the realisation of your wishes and ideas?"

As a point of orientation the people questioned were given a list of 19 headings extending from the decorative style for the home, children's education, where to have holidays, styles of dress to the individual choice of doctor and health insurance. As a means of expressing themselves most people, 59 per cent of them, put "the way in which my home is decorated," and the choice of people with whom they associated at the top.

It is obvious that these are the aspects in which most people realise their own personalities, just as the emphasis given to their leisure activities.

Of those questioned 55 per cent said they placed the most value in leisure activities which allowed them to express themselves.

It was probably not surprising that for women the choice of their clothes was very important to presenting themselves to the world as they saw themselves.

People with whom one associated, leisure activities, style of education and where to take holidays were also important, even through when it came to a matter of personal wishes and ideas it is almost impossible to express oneself in a better manner than the way one dressed and how one decorated one's own home.

On this point there was agreement, 64 per cent of the men and 66 per cent of the women.

Fifty per cent of the population would like to give vent to their self-expression through family life. In this respect 36 per cent emphasised the education of their children.

One in three (among the men 40 per cent) thought about their careers, their job with which they would like to be identified.

The residential area, the shops where one could do the shopping, the make of car and its type and the domestic appliances used in the home only play a limited role in personal expression — spheres which concede plenty of room for manouevre for the status symbol for market psychologists.

The answers to the Allensbach questionnaire amounted to an affirmative to such a rational presentation of oneself.

The inquiry showed that 23 per cent gave importance to the shops where they did their shopping. This was emphasised by ordinary workers just as much as company managers or executives (22 per cent). The self-employed gave even greater importance to this — 34 per cent.

A special residential area was named by 22 per cent as an aim of their personal wishes. The differences between the various social levels were noticeable, but less glaring than one would have assumed.

This aspect was emphasised by 24 per cent of ordinary workers and civil servants, 26 per cent by managers and company executives and 28 per cent among the self-employed.

Only 21 per cent of those questioned regarded their car as an object for satisfying their personal wishes. Although the car has definitely not lost its function as a status symbol, this function is exploited tacitly.

But more and more ordinary workers (28 per cent) and young people (27 per cent) would like to attach an expression of their own personality to the car they drove.

(Allgemeine Zeitung, Mainz, 22 March 1989)